

Current History

A WORLD AFFAIRS MONTHLY

JUNE, 1973

THE DIMENSIONS OF POVERTY IN AMERICA

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Current History

FOUNDED IN 1914

JUNE, 1973
VOLUME 64 NUMBER 382

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Published monthly by Current History, Inc., 4225 Main St., Box 4647, Phila., Pa. 19127. Second class postage paid at Phila., Pa., and additional mailing offices. Indexed in *The Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*. Individual copies may be secured by writing to the publication office. No responsibility is assumed for the return of unsolicited manuscripts. Copyright © 1973, by Current History, Inc.

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Current History

JUNE, 1973

VOL. 64, NO. 382

In this first issue in a three-issue symposium on poverty and social welfare in America, seven articles define the dimensions of poverty in the United States today, explore the conditions and needs of different groups of poor Americans, and compare poverty in America with poverty in the rest of the world. Can American poverty be eliminated or alleviated? As our introductory article points out: "The experience of the early 1970's, with a fairly constant number of poor, offers little hope that poverty will be eliminated in the United States within the near future."

The Poor: Dimensions and Strategies

BY SAR A. LEVITAN

Director of the Center for Manpower Policy Studies, George Washington University

THE POOR SHALL NEVER cease out of the land, according to the Bible. This is more than a pessimistic forecast, however; it recognizes that each society defines poverty in its own terms.*

Poverty is a relative concept. It is primarily for this reason that one person in eight can be designated as poor in the richest country in the world. In less developed countries, poverty is equated with living at the brink of subsistence. In this country, even the lowest-income families are rarely confronted with the specter of starvation, although many poor are the victims of an inadequate diet.

The problem that all societies in all times have faced is inequality. No system distributes income evenly nor should it necessarily do so. The reasons for this inequality of incomes are many, some worthy and some unconscionable, but the trends are remarkably constant. Income distribution today is little different from the pattern in the United States just after World War II. The poorest 20 per cent of all families receive only about as much money income as the top 1 per cent, and there is some evidence that these figures may actually understate the full extent of inequality.

Insofar as it can be measured, poverty can be defined as a lack of goods and services needed for an "adequate" standard of living. Because standards of adequacy vary with both the society's general level of well-being and the public attitudes toward depriva-

tion, there is no universally accepted definition of individual or family basic needs. Equally difficult to determine is the amount of money income necessary to provide for any agreed-upon set of basic needs. For example, government programs providing such services as free education, subsidized food, or medical care reduce the amount of cash required to support a family; and differentials in the cost of living between urban and rural areas and among regions raise the income requirements for some people and lower them for others. It is no wonder, then, that experts differ over the purchasing power that an individual or family needs for a minimum acceptable level of economic welfare.

Despite these conceptual and technical problems of measurement, the federal government has devised a poverty index which has gained wide acceptance. Developed by the Social Security Administration in 1964, this index is based on the cost of a minimum diet (estimated by the Department of Agriculture on the basis of a 1955 survey) at just under one dollar per person per day in a four-member family with two school-age children (adjusted for 1972). The cost of living of the low-income family is estimated to be three times its food expenditures (with adjustments for changes in the level of consumer prices); thus, a larger family will have a proportionately higher poverty threshold. Farm families are presumed to need only 85 per cent of the cash income of nonfarm families, 2-person families with an elderly head 8 per cent less than those under 65 years of age, and households headed by females slightly less than other households.

* This article is excerpted from the forthcoming revised edition of *Programs in Aid of the Poor*, published by The John Hopkins University Press.

A summary of the federal government's definition of poverty income, based on 1972 prices, is presented in the following table:

Number of Family Members	Nonfarm	Farm
1	\$2,100	\$1,800
2	2,725	2,325
3	3,450	2,950
4	4,200	3,575
5	4,925	4,200
6	5,550	4,725
7	6,200	5,275

There are several flaws in this poverty index. First, the distinction between "nonfarm" and "farm" is extremely crude. It makes no allowance for regional variations in the cost of living, or for higher prices in central cities where many of the poor are concentrated; set initially at 70 per cent, the level for farm families was arbitrarily raised to the present 85 per cent. Second, the food costs on which the budget is based were developed for "temporary or emergency use" and are inadequate for a permanent diet. For a family of four, an annual income of \$4,200 provides only the barest subsistence. Finally, the assumption that a family needs two dollars for shelter, clothing, and other needs for every food dollar (thus a poverty index three times the food budget) was based on the finding that in the 1950's the average consumer spent one-third of his income for food. More recent data indicate that this proportion has fallen to 28 per cent, so the food budget might well be multiplied by 3.5, instead of 3, to derive the poverty level. This poverty line would be considerably higher than the "official" one. The pitfall of using a "stagnant" poverty level—which adjusts only for price increases but not for productivity gains and the rising living standards of the American people—is also illustrated by the growing gap between the poverty level and median family income. The former rose only two-fifths between 1959 and 1971 while the latter nearly doubled. In 1959, the median family income was 1.8 times the poverty level for a family of four; by 1971 it was 2.5 times as much.

A proposed solution is a flexible poverty line. It has been suggested that the median family income should be divided by two, which would peg the standard at one-fourth higher than the level set by the government. Because in recent years there has been little redistribution of income, a flexible index would indicate that our progress against poverty has been scant. For the present, however, the government poverty index is the most widely accepted and workable measure of poverty, and available data are gathered on this basis.

IDENTIFYING THE POOR

Measured by government statistics, poverty declined markedly in the decade of the 1960's. In 1960, nearly 40 million persons, or 22 per cent of the population, were classified as poor by the government's poverty index. By 1969, their number had been reduced to approximately 24 million, or 12 per cent of the population. Most of this progress occurred during the second half of the decade, when jobs were plentiful. Government-mounted special efforts to reduce poverty also helped. But during the subsequent two years no headway was made, and in 1971 the number of poor had drifted up to almost 26 million persons. Poverty continues to be a serious problem in the United States. Approximately one of every eight Americans is living in poverty, and those who still live in poverty must face a life in which hardships are undiminished. Indeed, the nation's increasing affluence makes the deprivation of those who remain poor both more noticeable and more poignant. (See inside back cover.)

Who are these poor Americans? A few selected characteristics of the poor are listed in Table 1. The incidence of poverty is related to age, color, sex of family head, work status and educational attainment. Blacks are three times as likely as whites to be poor. Families headed by women are nearly five times as likely to be poor as families headed by males. When the head of the family has eight years of schooling or less, the incidence of poverty is four times greater than the incidence of poverty in families headed by a person with some college education.

Overall changes in the total number of poor mask considerable movement in and out of poverty. That the total number of poor in 1969, for example, was slightly lower than it was in 1968 was the net effect of the movement out of poverty by 37 per cent of the 1968 poor while 34 per cent of the 1969 poor did not live in poverty during the previous year. Just as minority and female-headed units are more likely to be poor, they are less likely to escape poverty. The proportion of poor in 1968 who were also poor in 1969 varied from about one-half of white male-headed units, to two-thirds of nonwhite male-headed and white female-headed units, to three-fourths of nonwhite female-headed units. Conversely, nonwhite and female-headed units were more likely to be classed as poor. (See inside back cover.)

For the purpose of this overview, the poor can be divided into four major groups: the elderly, working-age adults who are employed, those of working age who are not employed, and children in poor families.¹ While these groups share the symptoms of low income, their problems vary.

THE AGED POOR

Of all age groups in the population, aged citizens have the highest incidence of poverty. More than

¹ Editor's note: See the articles that follow for more detailed discussions.

Table 1. Characteristics of the poor, 1971

Characteristic	Persons in Families		Persons Living Alone	
	Number (thousands)	Poor as Per cent of Total in Group	Number (thousands)	Poor as Per cent of Total in Group
Total	20,405	11	5,154	32
Age group				
Under 16	9,430	16	39	100
16-64	9,265	8	2,552	25
65 and over	1,710	12	2,563	42
Race				
White	13,566	8	4,214	30
Spanish origin	2,217	25	133	36
Black	6,530	31	866	46
Other	309	14	75	35
Family status				
Head	5,303	10	—	—
Other adults	4,757	7	—	—
Children	10,344	15	—	—
Type of residence				
Central city	6,693	12	2,218	29
Outside central city	4,450	6	1,199	26
Farm	1,934	20	133	37
Other nonmetropolitan	7,328	15	1,604	43
Sex of family head				
Male	12,608	8	1,543	24
Female	7,797	39	3,611	37
Work experience of family head				
Worked full year, full time	1,084	3	292	5
Worked part year, or part-time	1,725	16	1,330	31
Did not work	2,422	30	3,530	54
Armed Forces	7,200	7	3	3
Education of family head				
8 years or less	2,293	18	2,387	48
1-3 years high school	947	11	638	32
4 years high school	933	6	735	21
College, 1-3 years	268	5	244	17
College, 4 years or more	143	2	201	11

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

one in every five persons aged 65 or older lived in poverty in 1971, compared with only one in nine persons under 65. If anything, the situation may have been worse than these figures indicated, for the estimate of 4.3 million elderly poor excluded many living in public homes and many more whose own income would have classified them among the poor but who lived in non-poor households. As the aged become more numerous in our society, the problems of meeting their income needs will intensify. The 20 per cent increase in Social Security benefits in late 1972 and the growth of private and veterans' pensions may help to reduce the number of aged poor in the future.

The major cause of poverty among the elderly is that few hold jobs. Fewer than two-fifths of the elderly male family heads worked during 1970, in contrast to well over 90 per cent of younger family heads. Among women family heads, fewer than one-fifth of the older, but over two-thirds of the younger, worked during that year. A similarly small proportion of the elderly living alone hold jobs. While some

of the elderly poor are willing and able to work regularly, the vast majority cannot do so. Their infirmities are doubly critical because an increasing number of the elderly live alone and must provide for their own support. The best, and frequently the only, way to help these people is through some form of income support. Provision must also be made for high medical costs, which can be devastating for anyone living close to or below the poverty line.

CHILDREN IN POVERTY

At the other end of the age spectrum, nearly two of every five poor in 1971 were children under 16 years of age, and one child in six lived in poverty. This fact is of special social concern because these children are almost inevitably denied opportunities from birth, and are thus less able to prepare themselves for a productive adult life.

Many children live in poverty because they are its cause. That is, low-income families are frequently driven into poverty by the addition of family members.

A close correlation exists between family size and poverty, with about 60 per cent of poor children coming from families with four or more children (Chart 3). A higher incidence of poverty among larger families is to be expected in a society where need is ignored as a factor in wage determination, and where the necessity of child care often hinders the wife or female family head from earning needed income.

Poor children have special needs over and above those which can be provided by family income maintenance. Health care, compensatory education and vocational training, in particular, are required to provide permanent exits from poverty.

THE WORKING POOR

Lack of employment is often the cause of poverty, but employment itself does not guarantee an adequate income. Over one-half of the 5.3 million poor family heads worked in 1971, including three-fourths of male family heads ages 25 to 64 and nearly half of the female family heads in the same age bracket. Many single poor persons under 65 years of age were employed at least part time. For all these persons and their families, poverty was the result of low-paying jobs as well as intermittent unemployment.

Though the problem is often overstated, unemployment remains a major cause of poverty. The poor are the victims of forced idleness more frequently than the nonpoor. Poor family heads, both male and female, were about three times as likely to be unemployed as were nonpoor family heads.

The majority of the working poor who do not experience unemployment encounter other labor market difficulties. Many leave the work force either voluntarily or because of illness or disability. An even greater number are employed at low paying jobs. Fewer than one-fifth of all family heads who worked were employed primarily as service workers, laborers, or farmers in 1971, but these occupations accounted for nearly half of the working poor family heads. In each of these occupations, at least one family head in nine was in poverty. Over one-half of poor family heads and nearly one-third of single poor persons worked during 1971 but were not able to rise out of poverty. Nearly one-fourth of all poor families, in fact, had two or more persons working at some time during the year but remained poor. The number of family heads who worked full time, year round, but remained poor declined steadily during the 1960's, and at a faster rate than the total poverty population, but in 1971 there remained about 1.1 million family heads, with 4 million dependents, and another .3 million unrelated individuals, who were continuously employed and diligent enough to keep working but were still unable to work their way out of poverty.

² Editor's note: For further discussion of programs for the poor, see *Current History*, July and August, 1973.

For the working poor, then, the problems are frequent joblessness, low wages and inadequate skills, which make higher paying jobs inaccessible. Manpower programs designed to smooth the operation of the labor market, enhance the productivity of low-income workers, and open opportunities for employment and advancement will alleviate the plight of the working poor. Effective enforcement of protective legislation to eliminate discrimination is also required while these manpower programs are being implemented.

THE NONWORKING POOR

Despite canards about the link between laziness and poverty, most of the unemployed working-age, poor are simply not employable, either because of personal handicaps or because not enough jobs are available for them. Recent data on the reasons that poor people do not work are not available, but aggregate evidence is instructive. Of the male heads aged 25 to 64 who did not work at all during 1971, more than three out of ten were ill or disabled. Of the female heads in this age group who did not work, most cited home and child-care responsibilities, and many of the others were ill or disabled. Thus, the presence of children not only increases income needs and the likelihood of poverty, but also hinders the employment of mothers and reduces the income available to meet those needs. Others were enrolled in school or training programs, which would presumably enhance their employability, or had searched unsuccessfully for work. Many of the non-working poor, of course, could and should be lured or goaded into employment; but for the vast majority of these poor, jobs are not the answer and some form of income maintenance must be devised.

STRATEGIES FOR HELPING THE POOR

Poor people need money. Whether they are young or old, their major immediate problem is the lack of income to purchase the most basic goods and services. But beyond this, the various categories of the poor have different needs, many of which cannot be filled with liberalized income support programs.² Those who are family heads, as well as those young people with their life's work ahead of them, must have, in addition to mere daily subsistence, encouragement and support for acquiring the skills sought by employers. For the aged, medical care and nursing homes are a primary concern. Children need health care and, what is most urgent, the basic education to assure them opportunities in the future. For all poor people, direct provision of housing, medical care, food, and other goods and services can serve as a supplement to income maintenance.

Since the time of the New Deal, the United States has developed an intricate, though far from comprehensive, series of programs to assist the economically

disadvantaged. The underlying assumption of this system is that special-purpose programs are required to take care of the diverse needs of the poor. Though some programs single out one of the four categories of the poor for special attention, other programs overlap in their coverage. It is therefore easier to classify the programs according to what they provide rather than according to which groups they serve.

TYPES OF PROGRAMS

Four types of programs are designed to aid the poor: (1) cash support; (2) direct provision of necessities such as food, shelter, and medical care; (3) preventive and compensatory efforts for children and youth; and (4) attempts to restructure existing institutions or help individuals adapt to those institutions.

Income maintenance programs are the major form of assistance to the poor. Because poverty is generally defined as the lack of adequate income, it can be attacked most directly by cash subsidies. To the extent that the family unit itself is the best, or at least the most appropriate, judge of how its limited resources should be allocated, income maintenance is a more acceptable form of assistance than the provision of goods and services.

The income subsidy approach is not without its inherent problems, however. One is the possibility that payments to employable persons will diminish their incentive to work. In addition, income subsidies may not be used for the intended purpose of providing basic sustenance. Finally, semantics plays a significant role. The public may agree to pay allowances while poor people undergo training, but may be unwilling to support relief for the unemployed.

Included among existing cash income maintenance programs are old age, survivors, and disability insurance (OASDI); unemployment insurance; public assistance; veterans' pensions; and workmen's compensation. Because public sentiment against income payments to employable persons apparently remains strong, these programs are aimed for the most part at persons outside the work force, or those who have been forced out of jobs. However, more comprehensive programs—such as guaranteed income, negative income tax, or family allowance—have been proposed to distribute income subsidies on the basis of need rather than labor force status.

Another group of programs provides goods and services directly to the needy, as a supplement to their cash income. Whatever the relative conceptual preferences between helping the poor with cash or in-kind income, political realities frequently dictate the latter. Public attention must usually be focused on a specific problem in order to mobilize society's resources. For example, increased food appropriations were forthcoming only after a highly publicized investigation of hunger in the United States, and the resulting pro-

gram was tailored to meet this specific problem. It would have been infinitely more difficult to gain such support for direct cash payments to the poor, which might or might not have been used to purchase a better diet.

Not only is in-kind aid more palatable politically, but it is argued that the government is often a better judge of needs and priorities than the individual. Moreover, in some instances the necessary goods are simply not available in the market, and direct provision is more effective. For example, the construction of low-cost housing is not profitable and cannot be provided to the poor without direct government action, particularly if racial discrimination is involved. To grant housing subsidies to the poor without increasing the supply of housing would simply bid up rents on existing units. In a similar manner, a wide variety of goods and services is provided directly by the government, in some cases more efficiently than the private sector because of the economies of large-scale enterprise.

Other services are provided directly by the government, not so much to make life easier for today's poor as to give their children a better chance of avoiding poverty. Helping families to have no more children than they want is one of the most effective ways of eliminating poverty. It is also important to provide proper care for mother and child, so that the young will be healthy. The child's mind must also be ministered to, and the federal government supports compensatory education programs from preschool to college.

Finally, programs aimed at restructuring institutions and improving the ability of the poor to work with these institutions are intended to eliminate the immediate causes of poverty rather than merely to mitigate its symptoms. For the most part, such programs are directed toward the employable poor, opening opportunities for them to free themselves from poverty. They tend to concentrate on economic institutions, although increasing recognition has been given to the fact that control over non-economic institutions is often a prerequisite to economic opportunity.

These efforts can be divided into three groups: first, programs that aim at improving the individual's ability to compete in the labor market, through training, placement, rehabilitation, and incentives to private employers to hire the disadvantaged; second, programs that attempt to restructure the labor market through minimum wage, public employment, and anti-discrimination efforts; and third, programs designed to help redevelop depressed urban and rural areas—including Indian reservations—in order to bring employment opportunities to geographic "pockets of poverty."

In the end, of course, the several programs complement each other. Not only must we assuage today's

Table 2. Federal Aid to the Poor, Fiscal Years 1964, 1968, and 1972 (in billions of dollars)

Program	Fiscal Year		
	1964	1968	1972
TOTAL	\$7.9	\$14.7	\$28.3
Cash	6.6	7.6	12.2
OASDI and railroad retirement	3.8	4.4	5.8
Public assistance	1.6	2.0	4.6
Veterans' pensions and compensation	0.8	0.9	1.1
Unemployment benefits	0.3	0.2	0.7
Other	"	"	0.1
Employment and training	0.1	1.4	2.4
Community and economic development	"	0.6	0.8
Education	0.1	1.1	1.8
Health	0.3	3.0	6.1
Housing	0.1	0.2	0.7
Food	0.2	0.3	2.5
Indians	0.2	0.2	0.4
Child care and other social services	0.1	0.3	1.4

" Less than \$50 million

Note: Details may not add to totals because of rounding.

Source: U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity

poverty through cash and in-kind aid, but we must prevent it in the future by better preparing society's youth and by giving the poor a better chance in the job market. Nor is it always easy to isolate the impact of programs upon beneficiaries. Birth control and maternal care may be designed primarily to give the young a better start in life, but they also leave the mother in better condition to contribute to her own support. Similarly, the differentiation between cash support and "rehabilitative" programs is often blurred in reality. It is generally recognized, for example, that stipends must be paid to the poor if they are to undertake an effective training course.

WORK AND WELFARE

Prevailing societal values often dictate that assistance programs be distinguished on the basis of the labor force status of recipients. Thus, programs aimed at the working poor may be distinguished from those designed to help people outside the labor force. This distinction is becoming less important in developing further aid programs. Under the Family Assistance Plan proposed by President Richard Nixon³ and variations considered by Congress, the government would supply income payments to working and non-working poor alike.

The inherent difficulties of categorizing the poor according to labor force status are obvious. Official definitions of labor force offer only limited help. Many poor people move in and out of the labor force depending upon overall economic conditions and personal circumstances. There is an increasing awareness that society may best be served by supplementing the income of the working poor, and, conversely, by

encouraging relief recipients to work without losing all, or, at least, part of their public assistance. It is also difficult to decide *a priori* which individuals should be provided with basic income through work (wages) and which should be provided with support through public assistance. For example, should a female head of a family with minor dependents and no regular income be required to work for support, or should the state assume the obligation of making direct contributions for her family's sustenance? Experts disagree over whether society would be better served by providing work for the mother (assuming jobs are available) or by providing income that would allow the mother to devote full time to rearing her children. Those who favor the latter alternative would also redefine remunerative work to include child rearing.

A related problem is the administrative structure for the delivery of antipoverty services. As the 1960's opened, federal social programs were few and their budgets were correspondingly slim. The federal government matched funds for public assistance and voca-

(Continued on page 273)

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³ Editor's note: At least temporarily abandoned by the administration.

"... as the world's richest country, which has brought levels of luxury to the broad mass of its people, the United States is far more able than most countries to abolish the poverty remaining within its borders."

United States Poverty in World Perspective

BY JACQUELINE R. KASUN

Professor of Economics, California State University, Humboldt

EARLY EXPLORERS AND SETTLERS who came to America found a vast, thinly populated land of incredible natural resources—millions of acres made fertile by centuries of grass-growing, huge stands of timber, an abundance of animal life, rich mineral deposits, a moderate climate ideal for farming, many inland waterways, a coastline ideally indented for foreign commerce. It was, furthermore, a land scarcely disturbed by its inhabitants.

Our energetic ancestors were soon producing income and wealth on a scale hitherto unknown. And in our own day as well, the United States is known throughout the world for its wealth. There are many political, economic and sociological reasons for this situation. The United States is the only major industrial nation which has not been destroyed by war in this century. The large continental free-trade area of the United States encourages specialization in economic activities, which permits levels of productivity higher than can be achieved in smaller areas which are trying to be more self-sufficient. A great deal of man-made technical equipment makes our labor force very productive.

Also, the United States is still a relatively thinly populated country, as Table 1 suggests, and has unusually favorable climate and a high ratio of natural resources per person.

The results of this combination of good luck and hard work are very high levels of output and income, both on a total and on a per-person basis. Table 2 compares gross national product per person in various countries. The figures in the table represent the total value of output in each country for the year 1970, divided by the size of the country's population.

The table shows that the gross national product per person in the United States in 1970 was \$4,758, followed by Sweden, then oil-rich little Kuwait, Canada, and the other countries in descending order. People in some of the poorest countries had an output of no more than \$100 per person.

TABLE 1
POPULATION DENSITY, 1971,
FOR VARIOUS COUNTRIES

Country	Persons per square kilometer
United States	22
China, People's Republic ^a	80
France	93
Germany, West	240
India	182
Italy	178
Japan	280
Mexico	26
Netherlands	319
Spain	66
Taiwan	390
U.S.S.R.	11
United Kingdom	228

Source: The Population Council

^a 1967

Before concluding that the people of India and China must all have been starving, however, one should take account of some difficulties in making such comparisons as are shown in Table 2. Output figures such as these do not include the value of unsold household output which non-farm families produce for their own use. In the less developed countries, most households customarily produce a large part of their own clothing, food, and other consumption goods at home. Smaller GNP figures for the less developed countries also reflect the fact that people in these countries have less elaborate and expensive public facilities such as highways and dams, which figure so prominently in the output of the industrial countries. People in the warmer climates which characterize much of the less developed world have less need for insulated buildings with expensive heating systems. So, for a number of reasons, the figures in Table 2 should not be taken to indicate corresponding differences in levels of welfare; they are more truly indica-

tive of variations in levels of industrialization.

Table 3 fills out the picture of international economic differences by comparing the amount and kinds of food available per person and the energy consumption per person in various countries. The table shows that the amount of food available per person is somewhat higher in the United States and the other richer countries but the variations are not so great as variations in GNP figures. There are more marked differences in the kinds of food eaten. People in the richer countries eat more protein and more foods of animal origin than people in the poorer countries. The greatest differences, of course, are in energy consumption per person, with the average person in the United States having 58 times as much energy at his disposal as the average person in India.

And this would be true using almost any available statistical measure; from the amount of gasoline consumed to square feet of dwelling space, the average person in the United States has more than most of the rest of the people in the world. This list would include not only "advantages" but some "disadvantages" such as pollution, although there are fewer measurements available in this category. (The gigantic American output of all kinds does not, of course, mean that Americans are necessarily happier or unhappier than other people.)

In 1970 in the United States, an urban family of four which had less than \$3,968 in total money income was counted as "poor." This was more income than most of the families in the world had in that year. Does this mean that the United States is so rich that even its poverty standard exceeded the world's average?⁶ In a very restricted sense, this might be regarded as true. One indication that this may be the case is the number of persons trying to enter the United States, legally or illegally, in the hope of joining some of our lowest income groups. Between 1961 and 1970, the United States admitted more than 3 million immigrants; the numbers would have been larger in the absence of legal limitations on entry.

On the other hand, it should be remembered that the high American standard of living imposes its own high expenditure requirements. For example, an American migratory farm family, belonging to our lowest income group, must operate an automobile at an expense of \$1,000 or more a year. This expense would be not only unnecessary but impossible in a less developed country.

INCOME DISTRIBUTION

Comparisons of averages can be very deceptive. We also need to know something about the *distribution* of income. Is it distributed more equally or less equally in the United States than it is in other countries?

On this question, although precise measurement is

TABLE 2
ESTIMATED GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT PER
CAPITA: WORLD AREAS AND SELECTED
COUNTRIES, 1970

Area or Country	\$GNP Per Capita
<i>World</i>	881
<i>North America</i>	4670
United States	4758
Canada	3651
<i>Europe</i>	
Denmark	3120
France	2904
West Germany	3019
Italy	1739
Norway	3436
United Kingdom	2168
Bulgaria	1153
Czechoslovakia	2103
East Germany	1889
Poland	1212
U.S.S.R.	2047
Sweden	4025
Switzerland	3254
<i>Latin America</i>	510
Argentina	989
Bolivia	208
Brazil	372
Chile	717
Colombia	335
Cuba	612
Ecuador	295
El Salvador	293
Mexico	651
Venezuela	990
<i>Far East</i>	290
China	144
Taiwan	374
Japan	1907
Philippines	266
<i>South Asia</i>	103
India	96
<i>Near East</i>	366
Egypt	198
Iran	355
Israel	1897
Kuwait	3929
<i>Africa</i>	202
Algeria	303
Ghana	249
Kenya	141
Libya	1653
Tanzania	100
<i>Oceania</i>	2504
Australia	2639
New Zealand	1903

Source: U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, *World Military Expenditures, 1971*. Country estimates converted to dollars at current exchange rates.

difficult, some helpful studies have been made. Table 4 shows the share of income that is received by the poorest tenth, the poorest fifth, the richest fifth, the richest tenth, and the middle three-fifths of households

TABLE 3
NET FOOD SUPPLIES AND ENERGY CONSUMPTION PER CAPITA,
WORLD AREAS AND SELECTED COUNTRIES

Area or Country	Net Food Supplies Per Capita ^a	Per cent of Animal Origin	Protein Grams Per Capita	Energy Consumption Per Capita ^b
<i>World</i>	(c)	(c)	(c)	1889
<i>Africa</i>	(c)	(c)	(c)	312
Angola	1910	7	40	170
<i>North America</i>	(c)	(c)	(c)	10944
Canada	3200	46	95	9072
United States	3200	40	95	11144
<i>Central America</i>	(c)	(c)	(c)	1119
Guatemala	1950	9	49	232
<i>South America</i>	(c)	(c)	(c)	706
Argentina	3170	34	103	1688
Bolivia	1760	14	46	211
<i>Asian Middle East</i>	(c)	(c)	(c)	775
Iran	2030	9	55	939
Israel	2930	20	90	2278
<i>Asia, except Middle East</i>	(c)	(c)	(c)	480
India	1940	6	50	191
Japan	2450	13	75	3210
<i>Europe, except East Europe</i>	(c)	(c)	(c)	3784
Denmark	3230	46	90	5924
France	3160	40	101	3794
W. Germany	2940	37	80	5112
Italy	2900	19	88	2681
Sweden	2820	42	82	6311
United Kingdom	3180	40	89	5362
<i>Centrally Planned Economies</i>	(c)	(c)	(c)	1693
Czechoslovakia	3030	27	83	6310
U.S.S.R.	3180	21	92	4445

Source: United Nations, *Statistical Yearbook*, 1971.

^a Calories per person per day, mid-1960's.

^b Kilograms of coal equivalent, per person, 1970.

^c Not available.

in various countries. To make the comparisons appearing in the table, each country's population was divided into ten (or, in some cases, five) groups of equal size, ranging from lowest to highest incomes. Then an estimate was made of the share which each group receives of the total money income received by each society as a whole. Thus, for example, the table shows that the poorest tenth of all families in the United States in 1970 received 2 per cent of the total money income, while the richest tenth, a group of equal size, received almost 14 times as much, or 27 per cent of all money income.

The data which appear in Table 4 must be interpreted with caution. "Income" is defined somewhat differently from country to country, and there are other differences in definitions. For some of the countries, the data are for "families"; others are for "households" or "spending units" or "taxpaying units." Small differences among percentages for the different countries are probably not significant. In general, the data refer to total money income, including transfer payments such as social security and public assistance,

before taxes. Most of the estimates are based on sample surveys.

Keeping in mind the limitations mentioned, some observations can be made. First look at the share of income received by the poorest tenth of the United States population. It is among these 20 million people that poverty is concentrated, although, since poverty is related to family size as well as income, it extends into other groups also. These 20 million had average money incomes of about \$800 each in 1970, about one-fifth as much as the average for the entire population. But income is distributed very unequally even among the poorest groups, so that at the bottom of this poorest group were some very desperate cases indeed.

Nevertheless, unlike the situation in most of the rest of the world, poverty is not a very large problem relative to the great wealth of the United States. A rather minor increase in the share of the bottom fifth would altogether eliminate poverty as it is now defined. The poverty income deficit—that is, the amount of income that would have to be transferred to the poor in order to make them not poor—currently amounts to only

TABLE 4
SHARES OF TOTAL MONEY INCOME RECEIVED
BY VARIOUS GROUPS IN SELECTED COUNTRIES

Country	Share Received by Poorest Tenth	Share Received by Poorest Fifth	Share Received by Richest Fifth	Share Received by Richest Tenth	Received Share by Middle Three-Fifths
United States, 1965 ^a		5.0%	41.0%		54
" " 1969 ^b		5.6	41.0		53
" " 1970 ^c	2	5	44	27	51
Canada, 1965 ^a		6.2	39.0		55
" 1967 ^d		6.4	38.9		55
Denmark, 1963 ^e	1.7	5.0	43.2	27.1	52
" 1968 ^f	1.2	4.3	45.3	30.3	50
France, 1962 ^g	0.5	1.9	53.7	36.8	44
W. Germany, 1964 ^g	2.1	5.3	52.9	41.4	42
Netherlands, 1962 ^g	1.3	4.0	48.4	33.8	48
Norway, 1963 ^g	1.0	4.5	40.5	24.9	55
Sweden, 1963 ^g	1.6	4.4	44.0	27.9	52
United Kingdom, 1964 ^g	2.0	5.1	44.2	29.3	51
Argentina, 1961 ^g	1.9	5.2	54.1	40.9	41
Brazil, 1960 ^g	1.8	4.2	58.8	45.0	37
Colombia, 1962 ^g	2.5	5.9	56.7	42.7	37
El Salvador, 1961 ^g	2.4	5.5	61.4	45.6	33
Mexico, 1963 ^g	1.5	3.6	58.5	41.5	38
Venezuela, 1962 ^g	1.4	3.0	58.0	40.7	39
India, 1955-56 ^h		7	50		
Philippines, 1965 ^h		4	56	40	40
Taiwan, 1964 ^h	3	8	41	26	51

Sources:

^a Jenny R. Podoluk, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, "Some Comparisons of the Canadian-U.S. Income Distributions."

^b U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*.

^c University of Michigan Survey Research Center, *Survey of Consumer Finances*.

^d Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Comparative Income Distributions, 1965 and 1967*, p. 53.

^e United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, *Incomes in Postwar Europe, 1967*.

^f Danmarks Statistik.

^g United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, *Economic Survey of Latin America, 1968*.

^h Derek Healey, "Development Policy: New Thinking About an Interpretation," *Journal of Economic Literature*, Volume X, Number 3, September, 1972, Table 5.

about 1 per cent of the GNP of the United States.

How about inequity in the rest of the world? Is there less or more of it than in the United States? Table 4 gives estimates of the share of total income going to the poorest tenth of families in 16 various countries; the United States percentage in this category *exceeds* that of 10 other nations. Three varying estimates appear for the share going to the United States poorest fifth; the United States percentage is clearly greater than the corresponding share in 9 of the 19 other nations and clearly smaller than only 5. At the other end of the scale, the estimated share going to the United States richest tenth is *smaller* than the corresponding share in all of the other countries except Norway and Taiwan, while the share of the United States richest fifth is smaller than the corresponding share in all the other countries except Canada and Norway, with Denmark and Taiwan very close to the United States estimates.

In other words, the available evidence suggests that

pre-tax income is distributed at least as equally in the United States as in other countries, and perhaps more so. The shares of the lowest income groups in the United States appear to be somewhat larger than the shares of the lowest income groups in many other countries, and the shares going to the highest income groups appear to be somewhat smaller.

Unfortunately, statistical analyses like these cannot take into account all the realities of poverty. One wishes it were possible to say whether the proportion of American children who go to school hungry is higher or lower than the corresponding proportion in other countries. But there are no international statistics about this, although occasional scattered news accounts provide rare insights. In recent years, not long after Americans were shocked to discover that government food programs were not reaching the hungry as effectively as had been assumed, Russians also discovered significant numbers of children arriving hungry at school. The present author was chagrined after

claiming in class that "There is no hunger in Sweden" to be informed by a student that he had seen people searching through garbage cans in that country.

And travelers' observations are not always reliable either. Some governments make sure that foreigners see only the best side of their country. Others allow freer access. The United States not only allows visitors free run of the country but also helpfully publishes huge quantities of data about itself, including full details of its poverty problems. No similar figures are available in other countries.

Travelers are especially apt to draw the wrong conclusion when they encounter beggars in a country. But begging can be a remunerative occupation in a country that has a thriving tourist trade. Authoritarian governments usually stamp it out and gain an undeserved reputation for "curing poverty." Thus Hitler increased his world stature by sending beggars to Dachau; begging has reappeared in postwar Germany, which is far more prosperous than Hitler's Reich.

Another way to view the comparisons among countries is in terms of the proportions of income going to the middle income groups. If we subtract the shares of the richest and the poorest groups, we can compare the shares going to the middle three-fifths of families. For the United States, this share amounts to 51-54 per cent, exceeded in our table only by Canada and Norway, both with 55 per cent. Thus it is fair to describe the United States as a predominantly "middle-class" society.

Most marked in Table 4 is the difference between the industrialized and the less developed countries. In the less industrialized countries, the rich receive a larger proportion of total income than do the rich in the developed economies; the poor tend to receive somewhat smaller shares than in the industrialized countries; and the middle classes receive a markedly smaller share of total income.

There is at least one less developed country, however, which appears to be an exception to this rule. This is Taiwan, whose highly even distribution of income is attributed to the government's program of land redistribution.

How about the Communist countries? Do they have less, or more, inequality than the non-Communist countries? Unfortunately, these countries publish no information on income distribution which can be compared with that for non-Communist countries.

¹ See Murray Yanowitch, "The Soviet Income Revolution," *Slavic Review*, December, 1963; Joint Economic Committee, *Soviet Economic Performance* (Washington, D.C.: U.S.G.P.O., 1968); Joint Economic Committee, *Economic Performance and the Military Burden in the Soviet Union, 1970* (Washington, D.C.: U.S.G.P.O.).

² Jerzy Berent, "Causes of Fertility Decline in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union," *Population Studies*, Vol. XXIV, No. 2, July, 1970, p. 290.

³ Wassily Leontief, "Socialism in China," *The Atlantic*, March, 1973.

Soviet figures cover only wages, which have generally been more unequal than wages in the United States. In the attempt to industrialize the economy rapidly, "petty bourgeois egalitarianism" was denounced and piece-work wages were used to encourage maximum output. These were combined with bonuses and other material incentives for over-quota production. Large differentials in pay, bonuses and privileges encouraged people to acquire the skills required in the state-owned industries. Recently, however, wage increases have apparently reduced some of the extreme inequalities in income distribution¹.

A few years ago, in a discussion of why the Soviet birth rate is so alarmingly low (the Soviet birth rate and population growth rate are both slightly higher than the United States rates but, in marked contrast to the American attitude, Soviet authorities are concerned because they are so low), Soviet investigators pointed out that if a father and mother both worked at average wages they would be able to support one child, but not two.² Since that time, wages have been increased somewhat. In the United States at that time, one worker employed at average wages in manufacturing would have been able to support a family of three at the lower-budget level defined by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In the People's Republic of China, also, productivity is rewarded by wage differentials. People are encouraged to increase their incomes by raising food on private plots and producing handicrafts to sell for export. Although no figures on income distribution in China are available, some observers believe income to be relatively evenly shared, so that no desperate poverty is apparent.³

In general, Communist countries have emphasized the universal duty to work, with severe strictures against "parasites." Central plans have been implemented so that jobs are readily available. In China, the government moves new school graduates and unemployed workers out of the cities into the rural communes, where tasks are found for them. The social security system as it is known in Western welfare states is not highly developed in Communist countries. Unemployment insurance is not generally available; old-age pensions are paid only to some retired persons. Consumer goods have not been abundant in most of these countries because of the relatively strenuous effort devoted to investment in industry. Thus, even large income differentials have often not operated as effective work incentives because of the scarcity of goods on which to spend one's bonuses and other rewards. Where this has been the case, penalties such as jail sentences have been meted out to workers who are guilty of excessive absenteeism or tardiness or who repeatedly quit their jobs.

Although there are no statistics, evidence of surprising inequalities crops up in the Communist world—

TABLE 5
UNEMPLOYMENT AS A PER CENT OF THE LABOR FORCE,
SELECTED COUNTRIES

Year	U.S.	Australia	Canada	France	W. Germany	Gt. Britain	Italy	Japan	Sweden
1960	5.5	n.a.	7.0	2.2	0.8	2.3	4.3	1.7	n.a.
1965	4.5	1.3	3.9	1.8	0.3	2.3	4.0	1.2	1.2
1969	3.5	1.5	4.7	2.1 ¹	0.8	3.7	3.7	1.1	1.9
1970	4.9	1.4	5.9	2.2 ¹	0.5 ¹	4.0	3.4	1.2	1.5
1971	5.9	1.6	6.4	2.7 ¹	0.7 ¹	5.3 ¹	3.4	1.3	2.6

Source: Constance Sorrentino, "Unemployment in Nine Industrialized Countries, *Monthly Labor Review*, June, 1972.

n.a.—Not available.

¹ Preliminary estimates.

great mansions still occupied by "former capitalists" in China, representatives of Soviet firms traveling on luxury-level expense accounts, chauffeur-driven limousines whisking through Moscow, country estates with private swimming pools for industry managers and other important persons.

How do tax collections, social security and public assistance payments, and receipts of income-in-kind affect patterns of income distribution? Public transfer payments such as social security pensions and public assistance are included in the figures appearing in Table 4. These account for approximately 7 per cent of United States national income compared with 14 to 18 per cent in Western European countries.⁴ The difference is due largely to the importance of health care and family allowances in the European social assistance systems.

Difficulties of measuring income-in-kind, such as public housing, education, health care, and other services of government, have precluded their inclusion in international comparisons. Public health care probably benefits the poor relatively more than the rich. On the other hand, studies of public higher education in the United States and the U.S.S.R. suggest that it chiefly benefits upper income groups. Where access to housing is one of the rewards for productivity and public service, it increases the inequality of money income distribution.

Studies of the net effect of taxes and government transfer payments on various income groups have yielded surprisingly similar conclusions in the United States and the welfare states of Europe. Progressive income taxes, which weigh most heavily on the rich, are combined with sales and payroll taxes, which tend to tax the poor most heavily; the net result in most

countries is that taxes take roughly the same proportion of income in all income groups except that the very poor pay higher percentages of their incomes in taxes in most countries studied; sometimes, but not in all countries, the very rich do also.⁵ When the effects of government transfer payments are added in, however, the very poor are found to benefit most in all countries. Thus in the United States in 1965, the net effect of all taxes and transfers was to add 83 per cent to incomes below \$2,000⁶; in the United Kingdom in 1964, the net effect of taxes and transfers was to add 67 per cent to incomes in the lowest class, below £260.⁷

In the less developed countries, government expenditures and taxes are generally not so high, relative to national income, as they are in the industrialized countries, and probably they do not greatly change the distribution of income. The Communist countries typically rely very heavily on agricultural taxes collected in kind from the farming communes and on "turnover" taxes, which are a kind of sales tax levied at varying rates on different goods sold. Income taxes have not been much used in Communist countries. Information is not published but the types of taxes in use suggest that the net effect may be regressive.

So far we have not talked about employment and wages as factors in relative wealth and poverty. Average wages in the United States, of course, are high, reflecting the high productivity of labor in this country. If everyone who wanted a job were employed at average wages in the United States, there would be no poverty in this country. Average hourly earnings in the United States in 1970 were higher than in any other country; they were about 13 per cent higher than wages in Canada, one-third higher than Swedish wages, and almost twice as high as German wages.

However, not everyone who wants a job in the United States is able to find one, as Table 5 indicates.

(Continued on page 274)

⁴ United Nations, *Yearbook of National Accounts Statistics*, 1970.

⁵ United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, *Incomes in Postwar Europe, 1967*, Ch. 6; Tax Foundation, Inc., *Tax Burdens and Benefits of Government Expenditures by Income Class: 1961 and 1965, 1967*; Joseph A. Pechman, "The Rich, the Poor, and the Taxes They Pay," *Public Interest*, Fall, 1969.

⁶ *Economic Report of the President, 1969*, p. 161.

⁷ U.N. Economic Commission for Europe, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

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Noting that "most of the 'working poor' are poor because they are employed in low-wage industries," this author looks at meager work opportunities for poor people in metropolitan areas. "In 1971, about half these families were poor despite the fact that the head of the family had been working or looking for work."

The Urban Poor

BY CAROLYN SHAW BELL

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NO MATTER HOW WE DEFINE poverty, most of us will want to ask: Who are the poor? Why are they poor? We are concerned with poverty not because of academic curiosity but because, as human beings, we want to do something about those among us who live in mean or unhappy conditions. Sometimes, however, in describing *who* the poor people are, we may think we have answered the question of *why* they are poor. But the relationship is not always that simple.

Social scientists usually describe people by sorting them into different groups using variables like age, race, sex, occupation and place of residence. Then these characteristics can be correlated or matched with others. For example, occupation usually shows a strong correlation with education. In analyzing poverty, individual income or wealth may be matched against the variables. But, of course none of these characteristics can directly *cause* poverty. It may be useful to state that the percentage of black people who are poor exceeds the percentage of poor white people, but it surely makes no sense to say, "She's poor because she's black." At least, it does not lead us any further along the road to a policy prescription which might help to solve the problem of poverty. We must be careful, therefore, not to confuse description with causation.

A second minor but irritating problem in looking at the data which describe poor people is the difference between the absolute numbers of poor people and the incidence of poverty. An example will make this clear. In March, 1972, there were almost four times as many poor families living inside metropolitan cities as on farms. But the percentage of farm families who were poor was twice that of families living in central cities. In other words, the chances of finding a poor

family among farm residents are much greater than finding a poor family in the cities, although (because so many more people live in cities) the number of poor families in central cities is much larger than the number of poor families on farms.

It is useful to begin looking at the question, who are the poor? by looking at residence, because the problems associated with the rural poor are so strikingly different from those of the urban poor. Indeed, these deserve a careful separate analysis.¹ We must also be sure about the meaning of these terms "urban" and "rural." Our basic data about people, their incomes, where they live and what they do for a living, come from the Bureau of Census. Because the census defines "urban" as any place of more than 2,500 persons, many common statements about urban America may be misleading. For example, if urban America will include 85 per cent of the people by 1985, this does not mean an asphalt jungle or mid-town Manhattan traffic.

The census uses the terms "metropolitan" and "non-metropolitan" more frequently than rural and urban. All of us have some sketchy notion of a metropolitan area; the census definition provides precise details. A metropolitan area is one that contains at least one and sometimes two large cities around which lie a variety of smaller cities, towns and county areas whose inhabitants are all more closely related to the *central city* than to any other geographic entity. Notice that although some people outside the central city may live in a "suburb" others do not. Non-metropolitan areas, therefore, are regions scattered widely over those parts of the country where central cities are few and far between. They may include small cities, villages or miles of farmland.

In the country as a whole, about two out of three families (which includes individuals living by themselves) live in metropolitan areas, but fewer than half of these live inside the central cities of these areas.

¹ See the articles by Senator Ernest Hollings and John Bauman in this issue.

About 17 million families live in non-metropolitan areas, although there are only 2 million of them on farms. The number of poor families, however, is much more evenly divided between the metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas. It follows that the percentage of poor families outside the heavily urban area is much higher than that within the cities. This has been changing over the past 15 years, so that poverty is on the increase among metropolitan families and on the decline elsewhere. While there has been some shift of population from rural to urban areas, it is not accurate to say that poor people have moved to the cities, and let that account for the changing incidence of poverty. Many people, born in the cities, grow up in a situation where poverty threatens. So we must look at some of the economic conditions within cities and within the surrounding neighborhoods in order to understand the causes of low income for individuals in these areas.

WORK OPPORTUNITIES

In this country, most families receive most of their income from earnings on the job, so we should look at the work opportunities for people who are poor. In 1971, about half these families were poor despite the fact that the head of the family had been working or looking for work. Only about one out of five, however, had in fact worked full time during the year. Both these figures show significant changes since 1959. At that time, both the proportion of poor people in the labor force and the number of them able to find a full-time job was about half again as large. This leads to two questions: Why, in an expanding economy, do we have more people who are poor because they are not working full time? And why do we have any people who are poor if, in fact, they work full time?

These questions of family income and poverty, and particularly of family income derived from earnings, require considerable attention to the position of women in the labor force. Again, we must look at the definition used by the Bureau of the Census classifying families with reference to an adult "head." Women will not be listed as heads of the family if their husbands (or fathers, or brothers) are living with the family. For the population as a whole, about 12 per cent of the families are headed by women. But among poor families, 40 per cent depend on women as the adult head. In the population as a whole, about half the married men have working wives, and the total family income, therefore, does not reflect the work experience or employment status merely of the male "head" of the family.

What has happened among poor families over the past 13 years is that as more wives entered the labor force and contributed to family income from their earnings, the number and percentage of poor families

with a male head declined. At the same time, the number and percentage of poor families headed by a woman have increased for two reasons: first, by definition there is no man present and, therefore, the likelihood of there being two sources of earnings is remote; second, the woman may not only find it more difficult to get employment, particularly if she has small children, but the amount she can earn is inevitably lower than what a man can earn. Despite these obstacles to their employment, women who were responsible for their families have remained actively employed or seeking employment for the past decade. The fact that, between 1959 and 1971, the percentage of men with poor families who were active in the labor force declined sharply, while unemployment rates among women with families to support doubled, obviously also has considerable significance in explaining how the economic conditions of poverty—in this case lack of employment—affect different groups of people.

Again, the facts about earned income relate closely to residence because, contrary to popular opinion, the proportion of poor people within the inner city who work is much higher than the proportion of poor people working elsewhere. This is partly true because older people (who no longer work) more commonly live outside the inner city, but it also reflects the concentration of poor families headed by women, with their high rates of labor participation, within the inner cities.

THE WORKING POOR

What we must now examine, therefore, is a group often called the "working poor," whose income from earnings is too low to keep them above the poverty level. These people have recently been the object of federal government action reflecting two very different policies. An effort has been made to introduce training programs to raise the productivity of low income earners so that they could move to higher paying jobs, thereby raising their family incomes. The other program provides income supplements to families of the working poor if the earnings of the employed head of the household are insufficient to support them.

The implications of these two programs deserve some thought, because they are contradictory. The first program suggests that the reason why some working people are poor is that they are unproductive workers, and that they themselves can be "improved" in order to earn more income. In fact, this may or may not be true. A skilled worker with an income of \$6,500 a year may still be classified as below the poverty level, if he and his wife have five children. Providing training to such a worker does not seem wholly appropriate.

The other program of income supplements suggests that poverty has more to do with families and less with low productivity. Here, however, we run into an-

other dilemma. Granted that income supplements may enable people, and especially children, to live in more comfort and dignity than otherwise, such a program also commits the federal government to the responsibility for family support, no matter what the origin, size, composition or simple definition of the family may be. It is not entirely clear that the implications of such a commitment, at least for population policy, have been thought through. Furthermore, to the extent that earned incomes are supplemented by the federal government, employers have greater latitude to continue paying low wages. They are also less interested in training, upgrading or promoting workers, which would result in paying higher wages which might affect the profitability and, in many cases, the existence of the firm. In short, the family income supplements may have some elements of a subsidy program for the employers of low-wage workers.

In fact, most of the "working poor" are poor because they are employed in low-wage industries. The many diverse industries in this country are classified in three broad groups: manufacturing, distribution, and the service trades. The majority of industries in the service trades pay low wages. Having one's own business is not necessarily the answer: about 12 per cent of the self-employed people in the country earn less than the minimum wage, assuming full-time, year-round work. Among 143 industries in the manufacturing sector industries, 33 are classified as "low wage," and they exhibit some significant structural characteristics. Low wage manufacturing industries include firms making textiles, garments, hosiery, structural clay products, fertilizer and lumber products (at least in the southern states). Poverty is nothing new here: most of these industries have typically and consistently paid low wages in the course of two or three decades and some, dating back to the turn of the century, are "traditionally" low wage. Profits in these industries are also low, and in general they tend to be highly competitive. Many small firms exist, but the rates of bankruptcy and new businesses formed tend to be high.

This is why employers in "low wage" industries would welcome the "subsidy" of income supplements. There are relatively few unions in these industries and the strength of the existing unions is not significant. Again, we find the question of women in the labor force intruding, for most women are employed in occupations or industries that pay low wages for what are typically called "women's jobs." In the late 1960's, about 7 per cent of white males and 23 per cent of non-white males were employed in industries paying less than the minimum wage. But 17.2 per cent of white working women and 44 per cent of non-white working women were employed in these industries.

To the extent that there has been a considerable

shift in the industrial mix or the occupational mix in our economy, it has occurred along with a locational shift in industry. In general, we associate the rise of our cities with the industrialization of the country and specifically with the growth of manufacturing industry. How far this depended on transportation technology—the railroads, canals, inland waterways, and ocean ports—has never been clarified, but certainly transportation technology caused the flight from the cities. During the 1920's, the automobile created suburbia and put an increasing burden on the rail systems of interurban passenger transportation. Yet it was still possible to see city and suburb as a kind of interacting system. The city was the place to work, to shop, to entertain, to learn; the suburb was to live in, to grow up in, to go home to at night and for retirement living.

But after World War II the new transportation technology shifted in emphasis from carrying people to carrying goods, and this brought about structural changes in employment, industrial location and, finally, in the nature of cities themselves. In earlier decades, there was a shift in residential patterns from the inner city to the outer edges of the metropolis. Beginning in the 1950's and accelerating in the 1960's, employment and production shifted; new factories moved away from railway terminals, and urban industrial growth slowed dramatically. At the same time, the decline of public transportation meant that the new industrial parks could be reached only by private car. For the most part, the good jobs with high wages that these employment opportunities represented were beyond the reach of the working poor in the inner city. To the extent that poverty has declined since 1959, either families have been able to move so that the man could get a better paying job, or the family now has two earners contributing to support, usually a man and his wife. A woman who is solely responsible for her family and who is poor is less able to take a job outside the inner city and is equally less able to find a place to live.

THE BLACK POOR

Both these considerations apply even more, of course, to poor families who are black. Most of the poor people in the country are white; as of 1972, there were almost 18 million white poor compared to 8 million non-white. More than twice as many poor families are white than are non-white. But the percentage of Negroes who are poor is almost three times the percentage of whites, and in central cities the concentration of poor Negroes is equally large. Exactly the reverse is true of the suburban rings and the non-metropolitan areas where most poor whites live.

Over time, the decline in poverty among white families has been much greater than the decline in poverty among Negro families, partly because of the impact

for white families of the new income contributors, working wives. Because almost half the married women in black families have always been part of the labor force, there has not been any significant increase in the number of black working wives. (For this reason, to decrease poverty among white families in the future may not be so easy as it has been in the past decade, unless there is a significant change in the level of women's earnings.) Black families in the inner cities are even more isolated from employment opportunities outside the cities than white families. They face ineffective or non-existent public transportation systems and the substantial costs of private transportation. And they are barred by residential segregation from reducing transportation costs by moving to suburban areas closer to the good jobs. Despite the gains of legislation for equal employment opportunities, education and civil rights, the economic disparity between blacks and whites has not changed significantly over the past decade. Consequently, black families are numerous among the working poor.

THE NEEDS OF THE POOR

Some of the characteristics that identify people who are poor have much to do with the needs of poor people. Although we measured the dimensions of poverty with a dollar income level that is based on family size and composition, quite clearly we need to go beyond the dollars to find out what real income or real poverty means. For example, in the United States in 1971, the median income amounted to \$10,290. This means that half the families in the country received incomes over this amount and half had lower incomes. The 1971 median income was four per cent higher than the 1970 figure, but price increases over the same year totally wiped out the change in income. In terms of what families could buy, there was no material gain between 1970 and 1971. Over a longer period, since the end of World War II, real family income after allowing for the rise in prices has increased about three per cent per year, and of course it is this sustained economic growth that has reduced the number of people unable to escape poverty.

In 1971, however, about 10 per cent of all families were poor, and a rough average measure of poverty was an income of less than \$3,700 a year. What did it actually mean if a family had an income of \$3,700 in 1971? How do people with median incomes of, say, \$10,000 or \$11,000 live? To say that family income did not really increase in terms of what it could buy from 1970 to 1971 means what, in terms of real goods and services, in terms of food and clothing, cars and cosmetics?

Any answer to these questions depends of course on what family we are talking about. While economists are firmly convinced that consumption is a function of

income, they are equally sure that tastes differ; the list of family purchases depends on the family. We are forever talking about the "necessities of life," yet when we are asked to define them, we discuss vague generalities, "food, shelter and clothing." This overlooks the fact that nobody ever buys "food." One buys ground round steak or brisket of beef or pork chops or leg of lamb; one buys potatoes or rice or bread or flour. Consequently the problem of making a definite list of needs, at a minimum level or any other level, is in effect insoluble. It is worth remembering that for food consumption we can use nutritional requirements to define physiological needs. Several analyses show that one's nutritional requirements can be satisfied with inexpensive foods costing perhaps \$150 to \$200 a year per person. They are also, to most people's tastes, inedible.

The basic needs of poor people are just like those of any other group of people—food, shelter and clothing, according to their availability and the preferences of the family involved. But the basic choices of poor people are quite different.

Two dimensions of poverty affect consumer choice, that is, the ability to satisfy consumer preference. First, it is often easier to economize on a large income than on a small income. The obvious example is quantity purchases: a giant pail of laundry detergent may cost, per pound, 10 per cent to 15 per cent less than a one-pound package, but it also calls for a dollar outlay that may be a significant proportion of total available funds. Aside from this element of purchasing power, other dimensions of consumer capital (storage space, cooking and housekeeping facilities) are more readily available to high income families than to those with low incomes. Many of the most efficient ways to economize have to do with the preparation of food, the care of clothing and the transportation of people and their supplies. All of these involve the question of residence. A poor family living at minimum levels of housing amenities may lack both cooking equipment and space. A poor family receiving welfare may find the opportunities of choice severely limited, to the extent that part of the welfare consists of rent payments and the residence is therefore dictated to the family concerned.

Consumer choice also depends on what goods and services are available. Aside from paying for housing (and its utilities) and transportation, most of a family's income is spent in retail stores. The variety of available merchandise and the types of accessible retail operations govern the choices a consumer or a family can actually make, as opposed to the choices preferred. It is generally true that poor people must shop in local markets where the number of retail stores and the choices they offer are limited. This constraint affects people living in the inner city much more than those outside.

The decline of retailing "downtown" and in the traditional shopping districts of any city has been well documented by observers of suburban shopping centers and by planners for urban redevelopment. Both, rightly, ascribe the flight of retailing from the city to the sound business decision to follow the market—i.e., to go where most people, with the most discretionary income to spend, like to buy. Neither analysis is concerned with the fact that this flight leaves behind a different market—a market made up of poor people without very much to spend. During the past two decades, as department stores, specialty shops and variety retailers were shifting their base of operations to the suburbs, many city stores went out of business; new retail establishments were located in the newly populated areas outside the central cities. The shift in food retailing was more dramatic, because during the early years of this period supermarkets became the dominant type of store. Food retailers going out of business were either specialty shops—groceries, produce sellers, fish or meat markets—or small volume "general" food stores. The new stores were supermarkets, where a very large volume, centralized buying and other economies of scale achieved low costs that could result in lower prices to the purchaser. The new supermarkets, like other retail stores, opened for the most part outside the inner city.

The conditions of poverty, therefore, include not only low incomes but limited opportunities to stretch this income. Think about a typical small city or suburb, with several well-defined shopping areas. We expect to find more than one outlet of a national variety or general merchandise chain, like J.C. Penney, Sears, Montgomery Ward, K-Mart, as well as a regional chain and perhaps independent stores. We expect supermarkets to represent national and regional chains—A & P, Safeway, Kroger, First National—but we will also find local firms in the supermarket business. Drug stores, hardware stores, shoe stores and so forth also follow this pattern. Service establishments, like cleaners, hairdressers, coin-operated washing and drying machines, tool rental or shoe repair outlets will usually be independent local firms, perhaps operating under a franchise, but in any event there will be several to choose from. This is also true of specialty shops—men's wear or infant wear, ski shops or bridal shops, photography or record stores—and in general people will be able to "shop around," which is the essence of consumer choice. Such an array of sellers, with their different offerings of merchandise, selling methods, display and information, is not available to the urban poor.

The wealth of buying opportunities outside the inner city also includes ways of economizing that are more available to high income than low income people. To take advantage of price reductions offered in clearance sales or promotional events means not only

having the purchasing power but also, in many cases, the capital enabling one to postpone the need. If I have a dozen towels in my linen closet, I can wait for a white sale to replace three or four tattered ones. But if I only have two, I cannot put off the need to replace them when they wear out. The "dozen towels" represent consumer capital.

Aside from business enterprise, most neighborhoods of middle and upper income residents offer other ways of acquiring consumer goods. Church rummage sales, garage sales and some second-hand stores provide socially acceptable ways for people of means to economize by buying used merchandise. Hand-me-downs, whether of furniture, appliances or clothing, do not carry the invidious connotation for some middle income families that they generally bear for the poor.

WHITE VERSUS BLACK POVERTY

To this brief description of consumer buying opportunities within the inner city and outside must be added one further reminder: most poor black families live in the inner city, while most poor white families do not. This means, of course, that the black family is worse off than its white counterpart, even though each may receive the same income in dollars. A census study in 1972 classified both people and neighborhoods as above or below the poverty level. Twenty-five per cent of white families with incomes below the poverty level lived in poor neighborhoods, but 67 per cent, or almost three times as many, poor Negro families lived in poverty areas. Add to this the predominant fact about poverty—that it bears most frequently (and most heavily) on women, especially women with families to support—and another piece of the racial and residential picture falls into place.

Women who are poor with families to support lack either employment opportunities or employment paying wages above the poverty level. They also lack men to help support their families. They have been deserted, widowed by their husbands, or divorced with the husband's subsequent default on child support payments. The poor white women mostly live outside the inner cities and, in most cases, their suburban neighbors are unaware that welfare—Aid to Families of Dependent Children—provides for their support.

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"... the quality of life endured by the rural poor is significantly inferior to that of the urban poor. This low level of existence is perpetuated primarily because inadequate housing, health and health services and nutrition make it virtually impossible for all but the luckiest of the rural poor to develop their God-given potential."

The Rural Poor

BY ERNEST F. HOLLINGS

United States Senator from South Carolina

ASK THE AVERAGE AMERICAN what pictures cross his mind when the word "poverty" is mentioned and he will describe an inner city ghetto. The concrete jungle—treeless, greenless and airless, teeming with the crowded hordes—this is the average American's image of our poverty problem.

The truth is altogether different: America's most persistent poverty exists in the countryside. It is our rural areas that first suffered the torments of deprivation, and it is our rural areas that continue to be most seriously blighted. In fact, 36 per cent of all American poverty is in rural America. If a successful effort to answer rural needs is not forthcoming, then there is no hope of dealing satisfactorily with the problems of the city. Poverty moves from country to city. If the problems of the ghetto compound, it is only because conditions are even worse in the country. Be it housing, health, or hunger, the job of overcoming poverty is demonstrably more difficult in rural America.

What do we mean when we speak of rural America? Many people have misconceptions of rural America. Some associate "rural" with the image of farmland, when, in fact, farmers constitute only 17 per cent of the total rural population. Rural America is actually difficult to describe because it varies so widely in character. One should always keep in mind that the term "rural" areas tends to lump together small towns, villages, suburbs of small cities, farms and countryside; and that rural populations include wage-earners, full and part-time farmers, miners, merchants and a host of other persons.

There is no standard definition of "rural," but the Bureau of the Census' definition is most commonly used. Simply stated, the Census Bureau defines as rural all towns with populations of less than 2,500

people. In 1970, this amounted to 53.9 million people, 9.6 million of whom were living in poverty.*

Another widespread belief about rural America is that it is losing population rapidly. This misconception is undoubtedly attributable to the fact that since World War II we have witnessed the wholesale displacement of our farm population. Because of soaring efficiency in farm mechanization and the failure of government programs to help the small farmer, the farm population has decreased by 20 million people over the past 30 years. In 1940, the proportion of farm residents to the total population was 23 per cent. In 1970, it was about 5 per cent.

However, while the farm population has been decreasing, the nonfarm population has been increasing rapidly enough so that the number of citizens living in rural areas has remained constant. The 1950 census indicated 54.5 million rural residents versus 53.9 million in 1970. However, because of the overall population growth, the percentage of rural residents in our country has dropped from 36 per cent in 1950 to the most current estimate of 26.5 per cent. It is apparent that the rural population continues to be a significant portion of the total population. But serious disparities between the environments and opportunities in urban and rural areas have initiated a significant migration to our overcrowded cities. This out-migration is understandable when we look at the area of local government expenditure and find that all rural services (except roads) lag behind urban parts of the country. Per capita educational spending is 10 per cent less in rural areas. Spending on welfare and sanitation is 50 per cent less. Health and hospitals receive almost 33 per cent less.

Everywhere we hear of the crisis in the cities. But if the problems of the ghetto compound, that means conditions are getting worse in the country. We have urban poverty programs in every city, programs lobbied for by dozens of organized interests. But the

* Poverty in this article refers to the situation of a family of four with an annual income below \$4,137. The poverty level for a farm family of four is \$3,600.

grievances of our rural poor go unheard. Today there are nearly 10 million poor people left behind in our rural areas, and the number of rural poor would be even larger had fewer moved into the cities to become numbers in a different set of statistics.

Rural poverty is a harsh fact that affects all segments of the population. Seventy per cent of the rural poor are white, but rural poverty is proportionately greater among the black and Spanish-speaking populations.

It is important to recognize that there are proportionately more impoverished people living in rural areas than in urban areas, and it is also important to realize that the quality of life endured by the rural poor is significantly inferior to that of the urban poor. This low level of existence is perpetuated primarily because inadequate housing, health and health services, and nutrition make it virtually impossible for all but the luckiest of the rural poor to develop their God-given potential.

HOUSING

Fifty per cent of all substandard housing is located in rural America. In my own Southland, 66 per cent of all rural housing should be torn down and rebuilt. Many of the rural dwellings I have visited have somehow stood for over 100 years, with only faith and a few rusty nails. Many houses lack bathrooms and any kind of running water. And the water that is available is often contaminated. Instead of an out-house, some families, without any conception of basic sanitation, set aside one section of their land as a "sunshine" privy. The all-electric home advertised on television is a cruel joke to the rural poor. Without insulation or windows, the crudest of rural shelters do little to protect their occupants against the heat of summer and the cold of winter. Many rural homes are more than substandard—they are uninhabitable.

The federal government, of course, does have housing programs that offer low-interest loans for the needy. The agency with the most impact and responsibility in the area of rural housing is the Farmers Home Administration (FmHA). The FmHA made \$1.6 billion in low-interest loans in 1972. The program is technically well run, as evidenced by a loss rate of about 1 per cent, but because of its conservative efficiency it has all but excluded those with the greatest need. Today, there are 2.3 million rural families earning less than \$3,000 annually. Of these 2.3 million, 5,000 or 0.2 per cent were helped by FmHA housing grants in 1972.

The FmHA is simply unwilling to take risks to help the very poor. When dealing with a loan applicant, it will construct a budget for the family, including everything but shelter, and then subtract the budget from the family income. The amount left over is considered to be available to pay the mortgage. A loan

is denied if the sum is considered to be too small to warrant the risk. Consequently, the FmHA is saying that it is justifiable for a family to pay \$100 a month or more in rent for a dilapidated, unsanitary dwelling, but it may not receive a FmHA loan to finance its own home for the same monthly cost.

HEALTH

It is readily apparent that the environment created by substandard housing contributes to the greater health problems of the rural poor. In testimony before the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, Dr. Jack Geiger of the Tufts Delta Health Center spoke dramatically of how poor housing can mean a disease-infested environment. He described one child as:

... not atypical. I have to assume that he is not premature, and he is not dead. He is two months old and weighs two pounds less than when he was born. He has infectious diarrhea, dehydration, malnutrition and anemia. Even in that state, he is a lucky survivor. His environment is such that many of his brothers and sisters literally die before they are born. . . . The probability is good that he was taken to a deteriorating shack with a contaminated water supply, a "sunshine" privy, a crumbling ceiling, open windows, holes in the walls patched with newspaper and inadequate heat, to share an environment with three or four other people per room, and countless flies, mosquitos, roaches and an occasional rat. In that environment, with their water supply, the probability is good that within the first week of his life he is ingesting some of his own excrement—or his brother's, or sister's, or his neighbor's, or an animal's.

It is this type of environment which causes one of the major health problems in the rural South—parasitic infestation. The mild climates and poor sanitation found in the poor rural areas of the South create ideal breeding grounds for hookworms, pinworms and round worms. Study projects in my own state of South Carolina have turned up remarkably widespread infestations of worms.

Dr. E. J. Lease and Dr. Felix Lauter of the University of South Carolina studied the situation in Beaufort County, South Carolina, and reported their findings to the Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs.

We examined 177 children; 98 of those children were infested with one or both of the common parasites, *Ascaris* and *Trichuris*. Children with a heavy worm burden are malnourished, and when the extent of the parasitic infestation was recognized, it seemed urgent that emphasis should be placed on eradicating the worms. Soil samples from door yards of about a dozen homes of infected children were examined and all were found to be contaminated with the parasitic eggs. . . . I think in looking at this the committee should remember that this is a very primitive area. We are not dealing with urban conditions; this is rural—very rural.

Beaufort county is rural and it is poor but it is not

exceptional. The census data of 153 southeastern coastal counties was studied and it indicated that Beaufort was average or above average in the areas of income, educational achievement, and public assistance received.

Nor are the worms found in Beaufort County a local problem. Dr. Lauter made this clear to the committee during his testimony.

Ascariasis is not unique to the State of South Carolina, it is not unique to Beaufort county. It is a regional problem. It has been here for years and it extends from Tennessee, Kentucky, North and South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Florida and some parts of Texas.

Poor housing and poor nutrition are undoubtedly the major sources of health problems suffered by the rural poor. The problems are unfortunately compounded by a dearth of health services. In the urban ghetto, help can be summoned from surrounding affluent neighborhoods. In an emergency, hospitals do exist in the city; an ambulance may be found, and so may a doctor. In isolated rural areas, there may be no ambulance, no hospital, no doctor—no help available. The resources that we take for granted in the cities do not exist in many of our rural areas.

One result of this situation is an infant mortality rate that is 15 per cent to 20 per cent higher in rural areas than in urban areas. Among the rural poor, specifically, the infant mortality rate is thought to be much higher, but an accurate figure is not available because there are so many rural poor who have no contact with doctors, hospitals, or coroners.

NUTRITION

A look at the nutritional status of the rural poor offers an insight into the total complex of problems and needs in the living conditions of the rural poor. Nutrition relates to every major characteristic of the rural poor. It affects a child's ability to learn. It affects an adult's ability to work efficiently. It is a major factor in the overall need for health care. In every one of these areas, the deprived status of the rural poor is substantially affected by low nutritional status.

The 1968 report by the Citizens' Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States—*Hunger, U.S.A.*—first highlighted the extent of malnutrition and outright hunger among the rural poor. Although the report did not focus solely on the rural poor, most of the evidence indicated that the problems of malnutrition and hunger were most severe and widespread in rural America. The overwhelming majority of the counties identified as having serious hunger problems were located in rural areas, and the rural poor bore the burden of that lack of adequate food.

My own book, *The Case Against Hunger*, published

in 1970, was an attempt to expose the conditions of hunger and the medical effects of malnutrition. I had access to the most recent studies by some of the world's most competent scientists, proving a direct link between malnutrition, learning, actual brain damage, the ability to work, and a host of related health problems. But many people scoffed at these findings. They preferred to believe that the poor were malnourished because they did not know which foods to eat or prepare for their families. This mentality persisted in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary.

The United States government had the facts but, for reasons we may never understand, attempted to suppress them. At a time when Congress was ready to make commitments to wipe out malnutrition, the Nixon administration staged an elaborate White House Conference on Food, Nutrition and Health, a colossal failure in solving any problems related to malnutrition, which succeeded in creating enough confusion to head off any constructive efforts.

At the same time, the United States Public Health Service had completed the Ten-State National Nutrition Survey. The preliminary findings were shocking and politically embarrassing to the administration. Dr. Arnold Schaefer, director of the survey and a respected career public health official, finally resigned out of utter frustration in his attempts to release the results of the survey. Incredibly, it was not until 1972—at a time when the attention of the nation was diverted to other matters—that the survey was finally published.

The survey documented the extent of malnutrition among low-income persons in the United States. It reinforced the general conclusion that the rural poor suffer most from malnutrition (although they are in no sense the only ones who suffer). In the predominantly rural states of Kentucky, Louisiana, South Carolina, Texas and West Virginia, the poor commonly had high to medium deficiencies in at least two of the three nutrients—iron, vitamin A and riboflavin. Children and blacks had the greatest incidences of malnutrition. One of the most obvious results of the malnutrition was the extent of growth retardation.

Hunger marks the very beginning of the poverty
(Continued on page 273)

Ernest F. Hollings has represented South Carolina in the United States Senate since 1966. After serving in the House of Representatives of South Carolina from 1948 to 1954, he became lieutenant governor in 1955, and governor of the state in 1959. He is the author of *The Case Against Hunger* (Chicago: Cowles, 1970). Senator Hollings has a continuing interest in the alleviation of rural poverty and the eradication of hunger and malnutrition.

"Barring a fundamental redistribution of income and the provision of national health services as a matter of right, it is unlikely that we will soon solve the problem of the 'special' poor."¹

Being Special - and Being Poor

BY RUSSELL E. SMITH

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A LARGE NUMBER OF AMERICAN citizens, roughly three-fifths of the more than 25 million persons considered poor in 1972, fall into special categories of poverty. These are people who are poor because they are young, because they are old, or because they are ill and handicapped. Children under the age of 16, numbering about 9.5 million, comprise about 38 per cent of the poor. People who are 65 and over account for another 23 per cent of the poor, while the ill and handicapped make up perhaps another 10 per cent or about 2.5 million people.

Persons who are poor by reason of age or illness are particularly "special" with regard to poverty, because they are prohibited by law, in many instances, from doing anything about their condition. Insurance requirements, health department permits, and state and local safety regulations act as restraints on the employment of the ill or handicapped. Young people are, in most states, restricted in the kind of work they may do under age 16, and compulsory school attendance laws act generally as a regulator of the hours young people may work. Many companies and governmental bodies require the individual over 65 to retire, and programs like the Social Security insurance system financially penalize those simultaneously drawing benefits and working.

Thus, the groups discussed here—the young, the old, and the ill and handicapped—are the victims of laws and customs which act to protect *most* people in society. Few would argue that it is not in the best interest of most of our citizens to provide insurance to those who might get hurt in industrial accidents. However, to reduce the risk involved, employers may find it to their financial advantage to deny a job to a person who has a history of heart trouble, epilepsy, or other kinds of illness. This may be true even though medical treatment has been received, or the condition controlled, through medication. Similarly, most young people benefit from education and compulsory attendance laws which were developed, historically, to get children out of the factories and mines and into the classroom. And most of us probably favor a sys-

tem that opens up "room at the top" and makes it necessary for older persons to stop working and enjoy their declining years.

Nevertheless, in the case of the "special" poor the customs of our society and our laws act to keep them poor and prevent them from doing what every one from the President down tells them they should do to avoid being poor—work. And so the special poor are required to be and to remain poor and dependent. Because the young may not vote and because the aged poor are a minority of a minority, in our nation these "special" poor are peculiarly dependent. They are told, in effect, that they have little to offer to the society. A political system, over which they have little or no control, makes the decisions about the kinds of places in which they can live, the kind of health care available to them, and the kinds of foods they may purchase. They are, supposedly, protected from being exploited but the end product of the system is exploitation in the name of charity. This may well be the hardest to endure.

THE ILL AND HANDICAPPED POOR

Numerically, the ill and handicapped make up the smallest number of the special poor. Some are poor because of handicaps of birth; others become poor because they suffer disabling conditions later in life. Some are single people; most are people with families who are dependent on the disabled or ill person for their livelihood.

Government figures indicate that over 4 million people in the United States are actively looking for work but are unable to find jobs. By government estimate, another 4 million or more either have looked for work but have given up, or have never looked for work because of a feeling that none can be found. Many of the ill and handicapped are in this latter classification.

It is difficult to generalize about the ill and handicapped, because they represent such a varied group of individuals. Some have suffered crippling diseases or accidents rather early in life, as in the instance of

polio victims. Others in mid-life have become unable to continue at their regular occupations, like the carpenter who suffers a heart attack and must be retrained for other work. Still others in our country are considered handicapped by the mere fact of their age alone. Recently, the government has begun a campaign to try to get business and industry to "Hire the 40-Pluses"; in other words, we have now to consider that middle age may be a handicap.

Most of the poor in this category receive help through two programs that are supported in whole or in part through federal funds. One is the Aid to the Disabled system of state-federal aid which serves close to a million people each year. The second program is part of the federal Social Security insurance system; some 1.5 million people receive part of their income from this source. In some instances, people may receive help from both programs, since the average benefit paid to the disabled worker through the Social Security Administration in 1969 was only \$112.73 per month.

The loss of income from loss of work is compounded for the ill and handicapped, since they are by definition in need of medical support. Until now, there have been no consistent and high-level programs of medical care available to this group of the poor, although lack of proper care insures continued dependency. And although they are numerically small as a group of the poor, it must be remembered that they may need personal care from other family members who are thereby prevented themselves from working. Children, too, may suffer from poverty, if a parent has a condition which makes it impossible for him to find gainful work.

ON BEING OLD AND BEING POOR

Being old in the United States places an individual in an especially vulnerable position no matter what his income. Social, physical and psychological adjustments must be made, although it is undeniably easier to make such adjustments if an individual is financially comfortable rather than poor. The style and pace of our society are geared to the needs and wants of the young; rarely do the needs of the aging person impinge on our consciousness. The average life expectancy for the person born in 1971 was 71.3 years, in comparison to a life expectation of 55.2 years in 1900. Contrary to general opinion, we are not becoming a younger nation but an older one. Whereas individuals over 65 today make up a little more than 9 per cent of our population, in the next 25 years they will constitute at least 16 per cent of our total population.

Socially, the aged live among us, but increasingly they are not in our midst. In some measure, this is due to a life style which stresses mobility and impermanence, which are increasingly hallmarks of our

relationships with others. One out of every four American families moves once each year statistically; frequently, older people are left behind as children and grandchildren move to new communities. In cities, another kind of segregation by age takes place, as older people move into apartments and converted dwellings in the central cities, while family groups move to suburbs. Lower costs of rooms in urban centers as well as better public transportation facilities make downtown areas attractive for the aged as well as for ethnic minorities. Such housing tends to be older and, frequently, in poor condition. Thus, the two groups most frequently displaced by urban renewal or urban development have been persons from ethnic minority groups and the elderly.

Other trends in housing also contribute to the segregation of the older citizen. Typically, new suburban and urban housing provides space and dictates a style of life for the nuclear family of a mother, father, and their children. Extra space is devoted to family rooms; townhouses and apartments are generally not expandable. Many suburbs do not have sidewalks or good lighting for walking, and community life is geared almost exclusively to the automobile. The only work to be done generally lies outside the home and, in a world of frozen food and automatic dishwashers, the possibility that an aging person can make a genuine contribution to family life has markedly diminished in recent times.

The social isolation of the elderly is an unplanned but nevertheless very real part of our technological and consumption-oriented society. And consumption of the goods which our industrial system can produce requires a fairly high expenditure of money to keep pace with the life style of the majority of our citizens. Recent United States Department of Labor statistics show that a retired couple needs over \$5,000 a year and a single individual needs nearly \$3,000 to live modestly in an urban area. The median income level for a family of four in the United States stands at more than \$10,000; the retired person will be a less attractive market, therefore, for what is produced. The elderly constitute an even less attractive group for advertising in view of the fact that 6.4 million aged persons (one out of every four people over 65) live at or below the poverty level.

Today, the maximum monthly pension for a retired couple is \$389 a month or \$4,668 a year from Social Security insurance. The minimum for such a couple is \$126.75 monthly or \$1,521 a year. The corresponding figure for a single person is a minimum of \$84.50 a month (\$1,008 annually) and \$266 a month (\$3,192 a year) for the individual who is fully covered by the federal retirement program. In addition, a separate federal program provides help to persons not eligible for Social Security retirement payments. State-federal programs of Old Age Assistance in recent

years have helped about 2 million of the aged annually at a level below that of the Social Security system—and below the poverty line. Such programs will be phased into Social Security in January, 1974, when the needy aged will be guaranteed payments through the Social Security Administration in the amount of at least \$130 monthly for an individual and \$195 monthly for a couple. Both amounts, specified in Public Law 92-603, guarantee poverty for both the individual and the couple, because they are below the amount the Bureau of Labor Statistics has determined to be necessary for a comfortable existence. Private pension programs cover some 30 million Americans but are an inadequate supplement, since perhaps one-half of those who think they have coverage find at retirement that they do not.¹

Socially, then, the aged are faced with diminished mobility, segregation on account of age in housing, and diminished usefulness in a society that is consumer-oriented and focused on youth. Allied with this is a psychological component which makes being older "special" in America. It is this dimension which we will now consider.

Being old and poor places a special burden on the individual. With our emphasis on work as the way to achieve status in society, the older poor person who is receiving public aid is doubly handicapped. With a very small amount of money to buy the necessities of life and little possibility of further work potential, the retired, dependent person finds himself in a category rather like that of the child in our society. The significant difference is that the individual has experienced and remembers a past in which he was a "productive person" and in the present he must come to grips with being dependent. The individual might have held a menial job; nonetheless, it was work and gave the individual some feeling of contributing to society and of having a place in the system. Being employed means independence, whereas receiving public money carries with it, in the United States, the stigma of dependence and powerlessness. The fact of powerlessness means, often, not being able to choose a place of residence freely, being considered sexually in limbo, and being part of a minority waiting out the "sunset years" for death. The "good life" is for the Pepsi generation, who can buy what television sells; the older citizen is apt to be forgotten.

Physically, the elderly must come to terms with a declining vigor, and the inability to continue to do many activities once taken for granted. Along with the natural slowing of the body due to natural processes, people 65 and over constitute the highest risk group physically in our country. Eighty-five per cent of the aged have serious chronic illnesses, and the

average elderly couple have medical bills three times that of younger people—an average of \$1,700 a year. The federal system of Medicare pays about 45 per cent of the health care costs of the elderly, but many essential items, apart from hospital costs, must be borne by the individual. For example, drugs, glasses and dentures are not provided through Medicare, and these things, needed by large numbers of the elderly, must be purchased from savings or from the small income of most retired persons.

At the end of the road for many of the elderly, and especially for the elderly poor, lies the convalescent home or the nursing home. Many of the elderly are cared for in public institutions or in private settings where the rates set for the poor by public agencies such as a Welfare Department are quite low. These institutions tend to become "warehouses" for the old and sick. No matter how well intentioned, they tend to be under-staffed and operated for the convenience of the attendants rather than for the patients. The fact that women have a life expectancy in the United States that is about 7 years longer than men operates to make such homes havens of a single sex. In many respects, they are way-stations to the grave, and they are considered as such by the elderly, who look forward with dread to being sent to such a home. Even the isolation of the single room in a threadbare city hotel surrounded by personal possessions is considered by most old people to be preferable to the impersonal efficiency of the nursing home.

THE YOUNG AND POOR

In numbers, there are more children living in poverty than elderly poor. Approximately 11 million children have parents who live below the poverty line, and the largest number of these receive no public welfare assistance. Numerically, most of these children come from white families, although the largest percentage, as part of the general population, belong to minority groups. A larger percentage of rural, as contrasted with urban, people are poor, and the South, where 20 per cent of all families exist below the poverty line, has more widespread misery than the rest of the country. But poverty exists for children of all races on reservations, in migrant farm worker camps, and in the inner city ghettos which have received considerable publicity in recent times.

The children of the poor are a special case since, statistically, the best way to become a poor adult is to

(Continued on page 275)

¹ Michael C. Jensen, "America's Pension System: A \$135 Billion Question," *Saturday Review* (April 8, 1972), pp. 42-44.

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“... the Indian, like the migrant, views technology with a profound ambivalence.” Yet “unfortunately, for both peoples the pace of technology is inexorable, and the manner in which Indian and migrant peoples adjust to technology is crucial if they are to escape the clutch of poverty.”

Forgotten Americans: The Migrant and Indian Poor

BY JOHN F. BAUMAN

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WHEN THE KENNEDY-JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION declared war on American poverty, no one doubted that the main battleground would be the streets and back alleys of American cities. Michael Harrington, Dwight McDonald, Oscar Ornati, John Kenneth Galbraith and other grand strategists of the New Frontier and the Great Society had discovered that “hidden poverty” was the twentieth century canker vitiating the body politic. No one was surprised that this troglodytic misery of the aging and the unorganized was lodged in the city, because the nineteenth century had placed poverty in the gallery of anti-urban imagery. Thus despite the outpourings of agrarian protest in the late nineteenth century, in 1960 poverty remained linked in the American mind with tenements, robbers’ roosts and low beer dives.

The slick mid-twentieth century expressways, which whisked affluent suburbanites over, under and through city slums, extinguished moldering neighborhoods and memories of the grinding poverty of the past. Just as effectively, these expressways and turnpikes snuffed out even the blurred recollections of rural poverty. While the “grapes of wrath” still ripened on the vine, midcentury Americans watched John Steinbeck’s Joads in their rattle-trap jalopy bounce eerily into a surrealistic oblivion.

Not until 1947 did Dale Wright (in *They Harvest Despair*) tell Americans that, while the Great Depression was over, the children of the Joads still roamed the same dusty vineyard roads. Thirteen years later, Edward R. Murrow, in a television documentary entitled “Harvest of Shame,” reminded the nation that misery-wracked caravans of itinerant pickers wend their way up, down, and across the country picking beans here, tomatoes there, and reaping for themselves only empty lives of illness and poor education. But although journalists have periodically brought his problem to the attention of the public, the migrant worker himself remains unseen and unaided; he travels at night and is sequestered in a shanty miles from the interstate highways.*

The system isolating the American Indian is as effective as a superhighway. In 1960, William A. Brophy and Sophie D. Aberle, *et al.*, in *The Indian: America’s Unfinished Business*, wrote that “the economic position of the Indian is less favorable than that of any other American minority group. In most Indian communities the pattern is one of bare subsistence with the result that the worst slums are found on Indian reservations.”¹ Yet few discussions of the poverty problem have included the problem of the Indian.

Indians and migrants are among America’s least populous minorities; they are also the nation’s least powerful minorities. The analogy can easily be extended. A University of Minnesota study team found the Mille Lacs reservation similar to any migrant camp: both are places of “backwardness and mainstream isolation . . . [standing] no chance of individual or group development unless the terrible inequalities of education, occupation, income and other related variables are erased.”² Where poor education spells bleak prospects for future mobility, the Indian, like the migrant, grabs the fleeting pleasure of alcohol.

* See Testimony of Morton Silverstein, NET, New York, producer of “What Harvest for the Reaper,” an updating of Edward R. Murrow’s 1960 CBS Documentary, “Harvest of Shame,” in *Hearings before a Subcommittee on Labor and Public Welfare on migrant and seasonal farm worker powerlessness*, Senate, 91st Cong., 1st and 2nd Sess., April, 1970.

¹ William A. Brophy and Sophie D. Aberle, *The Indian: America’s Unfinished Business* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), pp. 62–63.

² Victoria Holbers, *et al.*, *Indian Americans at Mille Lacs* (University of Minnesota Training Center for Community Programs, 1970).

Both these cultures are also characterized by the tenacity of the family bond. In fact, family dependency and close kinship ties have been a sustaining force for each culture.

Despite similarities, some differences distinguish the migrant's problem from the Indian dilemma. While the subculture of the Joads is the twentieth century creation of large-scale cash-crop farming, American Indian culture is thousands of years old. Migrant families live a vagabond existence, settling only long enough to harvest some of the richest crops in the world. American Indians, on the other hand, have title to almost 50,000,000 acres, but all of it is unfertile land hardly worth the effort to till. Finally, while the migrant suffers from government neglect, ignored by almost every federal social program, the Indian squirms under more than a century of government paternalism.

In 1973, however, both cultures face the prospect of extinction. New developments in crop-picking machinery displace thousands of migrants yearly. At the same time, the lure of the city, the thrust of technology, and the vagaries of federal Indian policy threaten to loosen the ancient grip of Indian tradition. While the migrant accepts his fate, militant Indians battle anew to preserve tribal integrity. Whether challenged by farm technology or federal policy, the number one dragon to be killed is poverty.³

Migrant families in America are victims of an exploitative system that spins off generations of dulled

offspring. More than a million people are ensnared in the migrant trap; regretfully, a more precise enumeration of America's wandering crop-pickers is unavailable. Mobile populations are difficult to trace. However, one 1966 study tallied some 466,000 different migratory farm workers, not including the 300,000 children and other collateral kin available for work in the fields.

THE PROBLEM OF THE MIGRANT

Three great streams of itinerant farm workers flow through the United States. One begins in California. There, some 39,200 pickers and sorters harvest the lettuce, the oranges and the grapes, and then limp on to Colorado, Utah or Idaho. A similar caravan forms each spring in Texas. Mexicans and Mexican-Americans from the Rio Grande Valley comprise half this gypsy band, which moves from the Texas fields through the midwest as far north as Michigan. A third stream follows the ripening crops from Florida in winter to New Jersey, New York, and Maine in summer. And so it goes. Three or four times a year, the migrant family is uprooted in search of another field, another crop, and another chance to earn a meager subsistence.

Migrants are vocationally a minority, and migrant ranks are comprised largely of ethnic minorities. Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Bahamians, West Indians, Mexican-Americans, and American Indians are all trapped in the migrant web. Blacks and Puerto Ricans made up some 90 per cent of New York's migrant work force in 1971. "Stoop laborers," who pick Colorado's sugar beets and peaches, are customarily Spanish-speaking or American Indian, while further north and east Mexican-Americans comprise 80 per cent of Michigan's migrant cherry pickers.⁴

While the roots of migrancy are buried in agricultural technology and large-scale "bonanza" farming, much of the misery suffered by the migrants can be attributed to federal farm policy. Some scholars accuse the government of perpetuating an "exceptionalist" labor system which offers no deterrents to exploitation. In brief, the federal Agriculture Adjustment Administration of the 1930's in effect disinherited the human chaff from the marginal lands of Oklahoma, Arkansas, Texas, Missouri and Kansas, and enmeshed generations in a cycle of farm migrancy. Subsequently, migrants were excluded from the minimum wage provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act, denied bargaining rights under the Wagner Labor Relations Act, and barred from the social welfare benefits of the 1935 Social Security legislation. More recently, child care services, food stamps, surplus food, school lunch programs all available to the resident poor were placed outside the pale of the migrant family.⁵

³ Testimony of Robert Soles, in *Hearings before the National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty*, Washington, D.C., Feb. 15-17, 1967. [Hereinafter *Rural Poverty Hearings*] Stan Steiner, *The New Indians* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), p. 148; Olaf F. Larson in "Rural Poverty in the U.S.," *Report by the President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 447; on the land-rich Indian poor see John Echolaw in *Indian Voices: The First Convocation of American Indian Scholars* (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1970), pp. 250-251.

⁴ Larson disagrees that migrants are largely "professionals." His study of New York migrants found a high rate of turnover; see "Rural Poverty in the U.S.," p. 443; the California migrant study is cited in Chamber of Commerce of America, Task Force on Economic Growth and Opportunity, Fourth Report, *Rural Poverty and Regional Progress in an Urban Society* (Chamber of Commerce, 1969), p. 151; on New York migrant conditions see *The New York Times*, July 14, 1971, p. 39; on the Papago Indians who do seasonal work in the cotton fields, see Beverly H. Hackenberg, "Social Mobility in a Tribal Society; the Case of Papago Indian Veterans," *Human Organization*, 31, No. 2 (Summer, 1972), pp. 201-209; Faustina Solis, "Socioeconomic and Cultural Conditions of Migrant Workers," *Social Casework*, 52, No. 5 (May, 1971), p. 310; on the Texas migrant stream see Patricia Marshall, "From Migrant Stream to Mainstream," *Manpower*, 3, No. 7 (July, 1971), p. 11.

⁵ On migrancy and federal policy see William Friedland and Dorothy Nelkin, "Changing Perspectives on the Organization of Migrant Farm Workers in the Eastern U.S.," *Social Problems*, 19, No. 4 (Spring, 1972), pp. 510-511; and Solis, "Conditions of Migrant Workers," pp. 309-313; Gary S. Goodpaster, "Peonage: The American System of Migratory Farm Labor," *Clearinghouse Review*, 4, No. 6 (October, 1970), p. 237.

By excluding itinerant farmworkers from crucial

federal legislation and deferring to farm bloc politicians interested in preserving a cheap labor supply, the United States has helped to perpetuate what Ernesto Galarza, a student of farm migrancy, has called a "modified patron system." In Latin America's feudal patron system, the peon was linked to the hacienda overlordship by the patron. In the American model, the crew leader replaced the patron. Few migrants labor without a crew leader or contractor. The crew leader is the recruiter, the camp manager, the work supervisor, the policeman, the banker, and the provider of alcohol and transportation. The grower, wanting a tractable work force, encourages the migrant's physical and social dependence on the crew leader. In migrant camps, crew leaders wield awesome power, appointing lieutenants, dispensing favors, meeting any dissent with the threat of banishment. The power of the crew leader only emphasizes the helplessness of the migrant, who meekly settles for one of the most deprived existences in America.⁶

INADEQUATE WAGES

Crew leaders are, in fact, a vital cog in the migrant subculture which, like other cultures rooted in poverty, endures paltry wages, wretched housing, poor health and poorer education. A glance at recent statistics on farm worker earnings suggests that all farm labor grovels for low wages. In March, 1971, 189,000, or 38.3 per cent of America's 494,000 farm laborers earned less than the poverty-line income of \$3,034 a year for a rural family of four. Note that 69 per cent of the 23,000 black farm laborers—most likely to be migrants—lived below the poverty line. Studies in the last ten years show that many migrants earn between \$900 and \$1,200 a year. Even with a wife and child in the field, most migrants average only \$2,300 a year. State laws establishing minimum wages for

migrants (the \$1.40 an hour in New York is still below the minimum for industrial labor) mitigate some of the hardships. But they cannot compensate for the 50 to 75 days a year of unemployment due to illness, weather or immature crops.⁷

Out of the approximately \$25 a week that a migrant earns picking strawberries on Long Island, New York, he returns \$5 to \$7 for shelter in a one-room tar-papered shanty in a migrant camp. Often the accommodation is nothing more than a duck shed or a partitioned old barn. Foul outdoor privies are commonplace and the workers frequently cook in an ill-equipped common kitchen.

In such bleak settings, social relationships are strained. Heavy drinking, gambling, gnawing distrust, and camp violence act as leveling devices which thwart latent leadership and frustrate the unionization efforts of a Cesar Chavez. Inadequate diets contribute to camp lethargy. Malnutrition is endemic. Dr. Peter Chase of the University of Colorado compared the undernourished children he found in Colorado camps to children in Biafra; he reported finding dramatically severe cases of scurvy, rickets, kwashiorkor and marasmus, all diseases related to protein-calorie deficiencies. A recent outbreak of a typhoid epidemic in a Homestead, Florida, migrant camp in early 1973 underlines abysmally inadequate sanitary facilities. Families bucket water from streams or shallow wells.

Sickly migrants are rarely treated by physicians. A 1957 survey of a group of 225 New York migrants discovered that only half saw a doctor from year to year. One migrant in six visited a dentist, and instances of prenatal, obstetrical or postnatal care were very few. Robert Coles told of children born by the sides of roads or in dingy rooms without running water.⁸

Coles observed that migrant children quickly internalize the defeatism caught in a parent's habitual lament. "What did I do to deserve this?" Migrant children crayon a life of sunless skies, faceless people, and endless roads with "a big fence on each side of a road that we can't get off even if we wanted."⁹

Migrant parents discount the benefits of education for their children; a much more immediate concern is a boost in the family earnings. An American Friends Service Committee study compared child use and abuse on United States farms in 1970 to the sweatshops of the 1930's. For ten hours at a time, children stooped and crawled in the fields baked hard by the sun. According to the committee, over 100,000 children helped harvest California crops in 1970. In that same year, in Aroostic County, Maine, children dug 37 per cent of the potato yield. Cassandra Stockburger of the National Committee on the Education of Migrant Children sees little hope for improvement, because migrant children miss eight or more days of

⁶ On migrant crew leaders, see Ernesto Galarza, lecturer and author, San Jose, California, *Rural Poverty Hearings*, February 15-17, 1967, pp. 465 and 471; Larson, in "Rural Poverty in the U.S.," p. 444; and Friedland and Nelkin, "Changing Perspectives on Migrants," pp. 514-515.

⁷ On migrant income see Dale Wright, *They Harvest Despair: The Migrant Farm Workers* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965), pp. 122-127; Larson in "Rural Poverty in the U.S.," pp. 450-452; and U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Consumer Income in the U.S., *Current Population Reports*, Series p-60, No. 79 (July 27, 1971), p. 13; and U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Consumer Income in the U.S., *Current Population Reports*, Series p-60, No. 81 (September, 1971), pp. 9 and 72.

⁸ On living conditions, see testimony of Eloy Chavez, *Hearings before the National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty*, Tucson, Arizona, January 26-27, 1967, pp. 106-107; and Wright, *They Harvest Despair*, pp. 44, 84, 105, 120; on the anomie of labor camps, see Larson in "Rural Poverty in the U.S.," p. 445; and Friedland and Nelkin, "Changing Perspectives on Migrants," pp. 512-513; on health and sanitation, *The New York Times*, February 24, 1971, p. 24; Coles, "Farm Worker Powerlessness," *Hearings*, April, 1971, pp. 334-335; Coles, *Migrants*, p. 47; Larson, in "Rural Poverty in the U.S.," p. 455.

⁹ Coles, *Migrants*, pp. 51-65, 82-98.

school a month. Instead, she favors the quick abolition of agricultural migrancy.¹⁰

In actual fact, technology is having an erosive effect on migrancy. A 1967 manpower report on the state of the 125,000 migrant population of South Texas warned that mechanization was shrinking the opportunity for unskilled farm labor. Meanwhile, in Michigan, mechanization has teamed with a recent state law establishing rigid standards for migrant camp housing to cut deeply into the migrant work force. In the words of one Michigan farmer, "Putting money into good migrant housing is investing in a dead horse." Instead, Michigan growers have invested in cherry "shakers" and mechanical cucumber-pickers, eliminating hundreds of migrant jobs. Furthermore, the trend toward larger farms and more automation, hallmarks of American agri-business, demands a more stable and a more skilled labor force. This leaves only the "flash peak" harvest for the migrant. Clearly, the United States must support programs such as the Department of Labor's Rural Manpower Service, which encourages migrants to seek permanent residence. Neither technology nor humanity can forever endure the existence of a twentieth century serfdom that leaves human beings at the mercy of exploiters, the most degraded labor in America.¹¹

THE AMERICAN INDIAN

While the Indian culture, like the migrant culture, is endangered, in numbers at least the Indian population is on the increase. In the last decade, the Indian population rose five per cent, from under 500,000 in 1960 to 795,000 in 1970. More than half this population is concentrated in the five states of Oklahoma,

Arizona, California, New Mexico and North Carolina.

Close to half the American Indians dwell on the 267 federally recognized reservations, pueblos, rancherias, communities, allotments, and other off-reservation lands. Reservations range in size from a few hundred acres to the 25,000-square-mile Navaho reservation, which straddles northern Arizona and northwestern New Mexico and extends into Utah. Regardless of their size, Indian land-holdings are economically marginal. A Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) soil conservation study listed 14 million reservation acres as "critically eroded," 17 million as "severely eroded" and the 25 million remaining acres as only "slightly eroded."¹²

More important, life on the reservation is marginal also. Reservations are ghettos and have been described as "the purest example of underdeveloped enclaves within the American society." Peter McDonald, chairman of the Navaho, deprecates reservation conditions as "too primitive for most Americans to conceive, . . . a seemingly hopeless poverty." Navaho land is a place of anthill-like hogans with dirt floors and kerosene lamps. In the shadow of Navaho Mountain, Indians sleep on sheepskin mats and cook on makeshift stoves fashioned out of old oil drums. On the Gila River reservation, in an area where 80 acres is considered a bare minimum for profitable cultivation, tribesmen scratch out a feeble existence on 10-acre allotments. In a day when cattle ranching is often a branch of New York- and Chicago-based conglomerates, the Montana Crow ride herd on an average of 48 cattle. The average Navaho sheep flock numbers 50.¹³

It is not strange, then, that poverty stalks Indian hogans as it haunts migrant shacks. The 1967 median income for the Navaho came to \$1,900 for a family of 5.4; the national average was \$7,720 for a family of 2.8. Incomes on Dakota, Montana and Idaho reservations range between \$870 and \$1,150. About half of all Indian families have annual incomes of \$2,000 or less, and three-fourths earn less than \$3,000.¹⁴

Many Indians, however, earn nothing. Dependency upon AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) and surplus commodities is a way of life for many Indian families. Unemployment rates climb from as high as 65 per cent for the Arizona Apache to 80 per cent among the Navaho. Moreover, where jobs exist, Indians usually fail to meet the educational

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¹⁰ On education see Coles, *Migrants*, p. 66; *The New York Times*, March 22, 1971, p. 19; Solis, in "Conditions of Migrant Workers," p. 312, argues that "while the reluctance of some parents to send children to school may be based on economic need . . . the economic need may be a guise to keep children . . . from losing respect for their families and their cultural heritage. . ."; see also Cassandra Stockburger's testimony, *Rural Poverty Hearings*, February 15-17, 1967, pp. 338-341.

¹¹ See Marshall, "Migrant Stream to Mainstream," pp. 12-15; also *The New York Times*, August 27, 1972, p. 58; and Friedland and Nelkin, "Changing Perspectives on Migrants," pp. 516-518.

¹² For Indian population see U.S. Dept. of Commerce Bureau of the Census, *General Population Characteristics: United States Summary*, PC (1), B-1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, January, 1971), pp. 281 and 293; Steiner, *The New Indian*, p. 163; and Alvin M. Josephy, "Wounded Knee and All That: What the Indians Want," *The New York Times Magazine*, March 18, 1973, p. 19.

¹³ On Indian reservations see Warren H. Cohen and Philip J. Meuse, "The Indian: The Forgotten American," *Harvard Law Review*, 81 (June, 1968), p. 1834; *Wall Street Journal*, October 18, 1971, p. 1; Ralph Looney and Bruce Dale, "The Navahos," *National Geographic*, 142, No. 6 (December, 1972), p. 741; and Brophy and Aberle, *The Indian*, pp. 79-81.

¹⁴ Peter McDonald, Office of Navaho Economic Opportunity, Window Rock, Arizona, in *Rural Poverty Hearings*, Tucson, January 26-27, 1967, p. 131; *The New York Times*, January 10, 1971, XIII, p. 39.

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"Setting the elimination of poverty as a national goal is a huge and complex undertaking. The nation has the economic capacity, the technological capability, and the intellectual resources to accomplish this goal before the end of the next decade."

Toward the Elimination of Poverty

BY WILBUR J. COHEN

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A PROGRAM TO REDUCE, prevent, and subsequently to eliminate poverty in the United States requires a comprehensive and coordinated attack in several different areas simultaneously. The outlines of such a program are as follows:

First: A successful national attack on poverty is dependent on continued economic growth and economic development.

We could probably reduce the number of persons in poverty from 25.6 million in 1971 to about 20 million in the next 5 years, and to about 15 million in the next 10 years, with continued economic growth and the expansion of employment in areas where under-employment now exists. To achieve these goals major changes in tax policies, housing and related programs as well as successful control over inflation would be required.

We should reduce and close the tax loopholes and shelters which provide favored tax treatment to certain industries and activities. The increased tax yield of \$10 billion to \$20 billion a year (at 1973 prices) should then be allocated in part to increased public expenditures (as for example in health, education, and welfare), and in the further reduction of taxes among the lowest income groups. The amendment by Senator Russell Long (D., La.) providing a refund of 10 per cent of low-income earnings (which passed the Senate in 1972 but was dropped from the final version of H.R. 1) is a step in the right direction and would make an important contribution to increasing the income of the "working poor." The combined effect of these changes would be to increase incentives to work, to sustain a continuing overall increase in the gross national product, and to reduce poverty.

With the termination of the war in Indochina and the prospects for international peace, it should be possible further to reduce federal expenditures for defense, military, and foreign aid, and to increase funds for domestic programs related to individual well-being.

Second: Opportunities for work—meaningful, productive, self-supporting work—must be expanded.

Economic security is perhaps best defined as a job when you can work and income when you cannot. Job opportunities must be made available for all who can work, and programs that improve the ability of the individual to earn must be expanded.

Well-planned and useful work, not made-work, could be developed. There are several million useful potential public service jobs—jobs in hospitals and nursing homes, work that would contribute to improved roads, parks and recreation centers, jobs that would help relieve the pains and anxieties of children, the aged, and the disabled, services in community colleges, universities, libraries, day care centers, senior citizen centers and similar community activities.

A federal-state-local public service employment program is a high priority requirement in the war on poverty.

Some sheltered jobs for disadvantaged individuals must be developed. This has already been done successfully for the blind and disabled.

Special consideration should be given by employers and unions to shorter hours of work for women with family responsibilities (25 to 30 hours a week) to enable more of them who wish to work to handle their family responsibilities properly.

For those whose capacity to earn is low, and for those who have a potential capacity but are unable to find jobs, much can be done to extend local programs that prepare them for full participation and full opportunity. Special educational programs, vocational training, rehabilitation programs, manpower retraining and relocation, and compensatory education and skill training programs could enable more of the disadvantaged to obtain income-producing jobs in the labor market.

Third: Racial discrimination—in jobs, in education, and in living—must be ended.

Justice and opportunity must become a reality for every American, regardless of race, creed, sex, or national origin. Every effort must be made to carry out the constitutional obligations and the statutory re-

quirements of the Civil Rights Act so there is equality of opportunity for every boy and girl and every family in the nation. In addition to its other insidious effects, discrimination by race, sex, religion or national origin is economically wasteful, costing the nation about \$25 billion to \$30 billion a year in terms of reduced earnings, a smaller gross national product, and less federal and state tax yields.

People must be equipped for full participation in all aspects of our economy and in all aspects of American life. Jobs are basic to economic security and we must see to it that everyone is given a realistic chance to learn and to earn in terms of his potential.

Fourth: Family planning services must be available, on a voluntary basis, to those with lower incomes and less than a college education as they are to the higher-income, college-education person in the suburb.

In 1971, less than 10 per cent of all families with only one or two children were poor, but 30 per cent of all families with five or more children were poor.

In the period from 1960 to 1965, low-income women of child-bearing age had an annual fertility rate of 153 births per 1,000. The rate for the rest of the female population was 98 births per 1,000. The fertility rate is thus 55 per cent higher among the poor than among the non-poor.

But it is considered likely that the poor would have children at the same rate as the non-poor if they had access to the same family planning services. And, on that basis, it is estimated that in 1966, among 8.2 million low-income women of childbearing age, there were 450,000 births of what might be called unplanned-for children. Among these 8.2 million women, there were about 1 million receiving family planning services, and 4 million who were not but indicated they would cooperate if services were available. To provide family planning services to an additional 4 million families would cost about \$200 million a year. This is an investment we could afford.

The 1972 Social Security Amendments further extend family planning services under Medicaid to present, former, or potential welfare recipients funded 90 per cent by federal funds. The states should take more effective leadership in implementing this legislation.

EXPANDED OPPORTUNITIES

Fifth: Opportunities for education at all levels must be expanded.

The vitality and economic growth of our society depend, to a major extent, upon the effectiveness of American education. We must assure equal access to high quality education from preschool through graduate studies. The cost of educating every American must be recognized as an investment in a stronger, more vital nation. To raise the necessary funds, the property tax must be eliminated as a major source of

revenue for education, and the federal government must contribute at least one-third of the total cost.

Quality preschool opportunities, for instance, are essential for disadvantaged children if they are to hope to succeed in regular classroom studies. About only one-fourth of the nation's 6.8 million children age three and four are enrolled in nursery schools or kindergartens. The proportion of children from low-income families enrolled is less than those from higher-income families.

The need for modern and effective technical and vocational education is also self-evident. We need a vastly expanded and a strengthened vocational education system, as well as imaginative new ties between school and the world of work in commerce and industry.

Unless children born into poor families have the opportunity to learn and develop skills, they will not only be poor children but will face the high probability that they will be poor adults and that they themselves will raise poor children.

IMPROVED SOCIAL SECURITY

Sixth: The social security program should continue to be improved.

A job today not only provides current income but carries its own insurance against the loss of that income due to retirement, disability, death or unemployment, and major medical costs during old age or disability. This social insurance device is an institutional invention of first-rate importance. It is based on the idea that since a job underlies economic security, loss of income from the job is a basic cause of economic insecurity.

Social security provides a highly effective institution for income maintenance—one that is acceptable to the public, has a very low administrative cost, and is practically universal in application. The social security program now keeps some 13 million persons out of poverty. But it could have a still stronger impact in reducing poverty. Some major changes which should be adopted are:

1. *Improvement of the system in line with rising earnings and productivity.* Benefits should be paid based on average earnings over a worker's 5 or 10 consecutive years of highest earnings, rather than on his lifetime average, so that the benefits will be more closely related to the earnings actually lost at the time the worker becomes disabled, retires, or dies.

2. *Provision of protection against the loss of earnings that arises because of relatively short-term total disability.* Disability benefits should be paid beginning with the fourth month of disability without regard to how long the disability is expected to last. Under present law, the benefits begin only in the sixth month of disability and are payable only if the disability is expected to last for at least a year.

3. *Improvement of protection for older workers by liberalizing the definition of disability for workers aged 55 or over.* A revised definition of disability should permit benefits to be paid to a worker aged 55 or over if, because of illness or injury, he can no longer perform work similar to the work he performed in the past. Under present law, the definition of disability requires that the worker be unable to engage in any substantial gainful activity.

4. *Improvement of work incentives by liberalizing the "retirement test" provision under which a beneficiary's earnings may reduce the benefits received.* At the present time, an individual can receive his full benefits if his annual earnings are less than \$2,100. This amount should be increased to \$3,000 at 1973 prices. The reduction above \$3,000 should continue to be limited to one-half the amount earned above the exempt amount, regardless of the total amount of earnings.

5. *Financing the system more equitably by introducing a governmental subsidy from federal general revenues.*

If the cash benefit program were to remain entirely self-financed, the ultimate contribution rate paid by employees and employers for the total social security program would have to be increased somewhat to meet the cost of all the proposals outlined. General revenue financing should be used to meet the increased costs to reduce the impact of the payroll tax, particularly on low-income individuals.

These benefit increases and the other program improvements would help all workers and their families. They would also reduce the number of poor in the future and would provide a level of living somewhat above poverty for many beneficiaries. The effect of these changes coupled with the other changes suggested subsequently in this article would practically eliminate illness, disability, old age, and death of the breadwinner as causes of poverty.

NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE

Seventh: We must establish a national health insurance program which will cover everyone in the nation.

Ill-health, disability, and medical costs play an important role in creating poverty, low income and insecurity. A universal national health insurance program with a comprehensive scope of medical services would do much to prevent poverty and pain.

Minority groups have higher rates of infant mortality than the general population and a shorter average life expectancy. A comprehensive program of prenatal and postnatal care which would benefit many lower-income families should be a high priority in any expanded national health program.

In the area of health, the idea of national health insurance has gained widespread acceptance. The passage of Medicare brought to an end one of the

most bitterly fought ideological battles in the political history of this country. Today the emotional content is no longer present and the major issue is how to deliver access to health services for everyone. Even the American Medical Association, the most active adversary of publicly sponsored national health insurance legislation, has presented a legislative proposal to Congress which is designed to broaden and improve health insurance coverage.

A national health insurance plan should cover the costs of long-continuing and catastrophic illnesses. The inclusion in 1972 under Medicare of disabled beneficiaries and the coverage of persons requiring kidney transplantation or dialysis are important steps in this direction. The Medicare program should also be broadened to include coverage of the cost of continuing use of prescription drugs for serious chronic diseases.

The Medicare program should be financed entirely on a social insurance prepayment basis so that both the medical and the hospital benefits would be financed from social security contributions and a matching contribution from the federal government. This would reduce the costs in the case of aged persons and help to raise their standard of living by eliminating the premium payment for medical care after their earnings have terminated.

Eighth: We must improve other social insurance programs. Other social insurance programs—unemployment insurance and workmen's compensation—although not administered by the federal government, require federal standards to assure adequate protection. Coverage of both of these programs should be expanded, and benefit levels in practically all states should be substantially improved.

The introduction of federal benefit standards into unemployment insurance, where there is already a federal-state relationship, would not be structurally difficult. In workmen's compensation, which has been entirely a state matter, it would be necessary to establish some new device, such as a federal program providing a given level of protection, which employers would not have to join if they presented evidence of membership in a private or state insurance arrangement with an equivalent level of protection.

Ninth: Our welfare system must be radically overhauled.

Drastic changes must be made in the existing welfare system—in the scope of coverage, the adequacy of payments, and in the way in which payments are administered.

Although work opportunities and improvements in social insurance can bring economic security to the overwhelming majority of people, they cannot do the whole job.

The federal-state welfare programs have been confined to certain categories of recipients—the aged, the

blind, the permanently and totally disabled, and families with dependent children when a parent is either missing from the home, dead, disabled or unemployed. In addition, the states have been allowed to define the level of assistance provided in these programs and many have set the level below a desirable minimum; payments also vary widely among the states. General assistance for those not eligible under the federal-state categories is entirely supported by state and local money and with few exceptions is very restrictive.

There are about 15 million persons receiving assistance payments—about 14 million under the federally aided programs, and about 1 million persons receiving general assistance not financed with federal aid. This figure would be increased if the states took full advantage of the available federal financial aid and removed from state plans and administrative procedures the restrictions that now bar needy people from getting assistance. Moreover, because of the low level of assistance standards in many states, a high proportion of those receiving assistance are still below the poverty level.

But criticism of existing public assistance programs is not confined to inadequate coverage or inadequate amounts. The list of criticisms is long, going to the nature of the program itself and its administration. The determination of eligibility is an unnecessarily destructive process, involving the most detailed examination of one's needs and expenditures and frequently prying into the intimate details of one's life. Moving from detailed budgeting to broad categories of allowances and to simplified determinations of income and resources would help to protect the dignity and self-respect of the assistance recipient.

AID AND INCENTIVES

One problem that has haunted assistance and relief programs for years is how to provide adequate assistance without destroying economic incentive for those who can work. Reasonably adequate welfare payments, particularly to a large family, will sometimes turn out to be more than can be earned by a full-time worker with low skills.

Under aid to families with dependent children, the federal government assists states to make payments to families with the father unemployed. In the 29 states that do not take advantage of this federal offer and continue to provide aid only if the father is dead, disabled or absent from the home, the assistance program is correctly criticized on the grounds that it provides an incentive for the unemployed worker to leave home.

Support for an assistance program that applies to all in need and that pays an adequate amount has been faced with hard going because of the incredible longevity of myths about those whom the programs are supposed to aid: that the poor live high on welfare handouts and that the poor are lazy.

The myths persist despite the fact that over 3 million of those on welfare are aged, blind or disabled, and some 10 million are children, and despite the fact that 80 per cent of working-age men who are poor but not on welfare have jobs, and about 75 per cent of them are holding full-time jobs.

THE NIXON ASSISTANCE PLAN

President Richard Nixon, in August, 1969, proposed a dramatic reform in the welfare system which included:

1. A federally financed and administered assistance plan to replace the aid to dependent children program which would pay each working and non-working family in the United States a minimum income. For a family of four without any income the amount proposed was \$1,600 a year with \$300 additional for each child.

2. States would be required to supplement existing federal payments to families with dependent children.

3. A work-incentive provision which allowed the family on assistance to keep the first \$60 a month earned and also 50 per cent above \$60 up to a maximum level set according to the size of the family.

4. A work component which required all family heads to register with the state employment office and accept suitable jobs.

5. An expanded day-care program for the children of working mothers and a job-training program to enable the parents to prepare for full-time employment.

6. Federal minimum payment standards for the three million aged, blind, and disabled receiving welfare.

President Nixon's welfare proposal failed of final passage in Congress in 1970 and again in 1972. An attempt to reach a compromise settlement in 1972 was rejected by the President and he did not resubmit the proposal to Congress in 1973. The need for uniformity in payments to welfare recipients remains an urgent necessity, as does broadening the program to include low-income, "working poor," where both parents are in the home, and single persons and couples without children.

The protracted controversy did produce some unexpectedly beneficial and potentially far-reaching legislative developments.

An important step in welfare reform was incorporated in the Social Security Amendments of 1972, which may serve as a model on which to build further changes in the future. A new program entitled "Supplemental Security Income" was established to provide federal income payments to the aged, blind and disabled. This new law replaces the federal aid to states for these groups which was first established in 1935 for the aged and blind and in 1950 for the disabled.

The program, effective January 1, 1974, is wholly fed-

erally financed from general revenues and federally administered through the Social Security Administration.

Under the law, about 5 million to 6 million aged, blind, and disabled persons with little or no resources and without any other income will be guaranteed a monthly income of at least \$130 for an individual or \$195 for a couple. An individual receiving social security or any other earned or unearned income will be guaranteed a total of \$150 a month and a couple, \$210.

In 1971, there were still about 4.3 million persons age 65 below the poverty line. The 1972 legislation is another step in the incremental elimination of poverty among the aged, blind, and disabled. The concept of a guaranteed annual income first embodied in the social security program has now been extended and should be extended further, to cover all individuals.

Tenth: The services that will help people move out of poverty must be brought to the people—where and when they need them.

Family planning services, visiting nurse services, day care services for the children of working mothers, community action programs and consumer and legal aid must be available where needed. City Hall—and Washington—must be closer to the people they govern. There must be an adequate program of consumer and legal protection for the poor. There must be an end to practices that shortchange the poor in the grocery store, in the welfare office or in the landlord's office, at the neighborhood department store, and in the courts—in short, in all the way stations that add up to life in the ghetto.

It is important, too, that credit union facilities be available to the poor and that credit unions take even greater responsibility for the consumer education of their members.

Eleventh: Extreme variations in opportunities and services among the states must be eliminated.

A major problem in overcoming poverty in the United States is the wide variation in incomes. The increased militancy of the poor and disadvantaged in recent years is clearly the product of awareness of the economic and financial ability of the nation to eliminate poverty and the extent of affluence and concentration of income and wealth.

REGIONAL VARIATIONS

But even if poverty were abolished in the United States overnight, glaring inequalities in services among states would continue to exist due to past practices and institutions. Medical, educational and social services would still vary by states and localities unless measures were taken to minimize these inequalities.

The problems of poverty and economic insecurity in the United States do not lend themselves to easy,

magic solutions. They require a combination of deliberate, carefully designed, wide-ranging approaches, for the problems themselves are not simple. Being poor means more than not having enough money. It often means being poor in spirit, hope, health, and intellectual resources.

The abolition of poverty will cost additional money. The cost of bringing the income of all 25.6 million poor persons up to the poverty line was estimated at \$12 billion for 1971. The total cost of eliminating poverty with appropriate work incentives would cost more than \$12 billion initially. But the cost should be reduced as the number living in poverty declines. The 1959 cost deficit (in 1971 dollars) was \$18.9 billion, which declined to \$12 billion by 1970—a drop of about \$7 billion.

The additional costs of abolishing poverty are in the range of 1 to 2 per cent of the gross national product. We can afford the money, if we decide to eradicate poverty. But money must be accompanied by far-reaching, innovative approaches, by bold and coordinated public and private programs that provide opportunities for the poor. For those who are able to work, greater emphasis must be placed on jobs, education, and training. For those who cannot or should not be expected to work, improvements must be made in the social security program, which, combined with private benefit plans, constitute the most effective institutions for income maintenance. They cannot, of course, do the whole job. The present welfare system must be drastically overhauled to serve adequately those whose needs are not met by other programs. Programs for the more effective housing of low-income persons, eradication of slums, and the elimination of hunger and malnutrition must be accelerated. Concomitant with improvements in existing programs, the search must continue for new and imaginative programs that will meet the demands of the decade ahead.

Setting the elimination of poverty as a national goal is a huge and complex undertaking. The nation has the economic capacity, the technological capability, and the intellectual resources to accomplish this goal before the end of the next decade. But the most difficult task will be sustaining the determined commitment of the nation to the American promise: full and equal opportunity for all to share in the good life that can be offered by a dynamic, prosperous, democratic society.

Wilbur J. Cohen was Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare (1968–1969), having served as Assistant Secretary (1961–1965), and Under Secretary to John Gardner (1965–1968). Mr. Cohen was responsible for piloting some 40 education bills through Congress during the 1960's.

DIMENSIONS AND STRATEGIES

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tional education, but left administration of the programs largely up to the states, even when it supplied all the funds, as it did in the case of employment services. One of the tenets of the Great Society, however, was to fund public and private local sponsors to implement national priorities, frequently bypassing state involvement and elected local officials. It was assumed that federal expertise would be more efficiently applied to running the emerging new efforts aimed at combating poverty.

By the end of the 1960's, a reaction was building against the unwieldiness of this apparatus. Grant-in-aid programs had proliferated and funds flowed from a variety of federal spigots. The result was often an uncoordinated tangle of programs in each locality, under a maze of funding arrangements and operating guidelines.

To improve the delivery of services locally, proposals have been made for decentralization and decategorization of federal social programs. Both these terms are generic, and connote a philosophy rather than a specific method. "Decentralization" generally refers to a decline in the federal role in administering programs, and a concomitant increase in state and local authority. "Decategorization" refers to a reduction in the earmarking of funds for specific purposes by Congress, in order to give states and localities broader choices of spending priorities. Just as each governmental unit faces unique problems, the argument goes, so should it have the flexibility in committing resources and administering programs to meet these needs.

Congress enacted the first "revenue sharing" plan in 1972, by distributing to state and local governments about \$6 billion during the first year, which could be of purposes during the first year. But it is unrealistic to expect Congress to abdicate all responsibility for overseeing the funds that it raises, as would be required by complete decategorization and decentralization. Thus, the debate will very likely continue with regard to the appropriate degree of federal control over grants, the need for retaining national programs, and the ability of local officials to administer the programs. But the swing of the pendulum now favors greater state and local responsibility.

THE SCALE OF ANTIPOVERTY EFFORTS

The various programs for the poor are expensive. Although exact measurement is not possible because many programs serve the nonpoor as well as the poor, the Office of Economic Opportunity has determined

that in fiscal 1972 federal expenditures to help the poor amounted to over \$28 billion (Table 2). State and local expenditures might raise total governmental outlays by another 50 per cent, with private philanthropic efforts adding another \$1 billion or more if the value of volunteer charitable work is included. While these are rough estimates, it is fair to say that in 1972 the total price tag of programs for the poor amounted to about \$45 billion.

This estimate includes payments made to poor people who participate in total societal programs, and not just the resources allocated on the basis of need. For example, the inclusion of Old Age, Survivors, Disability, and Health Insurance (OASDHI) as part of total welfare costs may be questioned by some because the OASDHI eligibility test is based on prior contributions rather than personal need. But whatever the goals or criteria, all the programs included in this survey provide needed assistance to the poor, raising some out of poverty and reducing its severity for many others.

No matter how much American society contributes to its poor citizens, it is not possible to judge the adequacy of these contributions because no generally accepted criteria exist to suggest what percentage of the Gross National Product or even of governmental expenditures should be allocated to the poor. Nor are international comparisons of much help,⁴ for needs and programs among countries differ widely. In the last analysis, the level of expenditures probably depends upon the public tolerance of deprivation in light of the general standard of living. It is assumed that the United States has the resources to reduce poverty even more rapidly than it did in the 1960's. The question is whether the rapid reduction of poverty can be made a primary and pressing national goal. The experience of the early 1970's, with a fairly constant number of poor, offers little hope that poverty will be eliminated in the United States within the near future.

THE RURAL POOR

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cycle. If we start with the malnourished pregnant women, we have "bullseyed" the problem. Malnutrition is the principal cause of premature births. In addition, although the degree of mental retardation caused by malnutrition is still open to question, severe malnutrition can produce significant brain damage.

A recent article in the *Journal of Pediatrics* points to the significance of the relationship between malnutrition and brain damage.

... this is a self-perpetuating problem, a vicious cycle which begins in infancy and condemns a person to a lifetime of perhaps marginal function, making it much more difficult for him to extricate himself from the existing conditions and it creates for his family an environment which will not protect his children from the same disease.

⁴ Editor's note: See the article by Jacqueline Kasun in this issue.

Health experts have realized for some time that nutritional deprivation is a major factor in creating the poor student, the inefficient worker unable to get ahead, society's drones. The weight of evidence points to the fact that a large proportion of the rural poor suffer from malnutrition from before birth. This final handicap both overshadows and amplifies the relative economic and social deprivation of the rural poor, leaving them even further behind than the "objective" economic and social factors of their environment would immediately suggest.

I have always believed that poverty in America would begin to disappear if we could eliminate hunger and malnutrition. One of the most important breakthroughs—free food stamps for the poorest of the poor—occurred in Beaufort and Jasper counties in South Carolina. We also pioneered the "prescription feeding" program, whereby pregnant women were given complete medical examinations by county physicians and given "prescriptions" for certain types of government commodity foods. After birth, both mother and child continued to receive this special treatment to assure adequate nutrition for both. These kinds of programs can succeed. And they can succeed better than the simple cash-income supplements originally envisaged in the Family Assistance Plan.

What is the situation in light of the fact that the administration has abandoned welfare reform? In at least one major respect, I believe the poor are worse off today than several years ago. The massive propaganda campaign waged by the Nixon administration to discredit existing poverty programs reinforced in the minds of the average taxpayers the misconception that families on welfare are cheaters, welfare bums, and social criminals living off the work of others. By failing to come forward with a program acceptable to Congress, the administration has condemned the poor to an even worse existence, the shadowland of indifference or outright scorn. Instead of solving problems, we are creating new ones.

The collapse of the so-called Family Assistance Plan has not prevented the Office of Management and Budget from curtailing existing rural poverty programs. The White House is fighting in the courts to kill the Office of Economic Opportunity, whose fiscal 1973 budget contained \$73 million in funds for rural community action programs. For the first time since their inception, the food stamp and commodity feeding programs will not be increased in fiscal year 1974, even though millions of needy children have yet to benefit from the programs. The free commodity program, a boon for the nutrition of rural poor people, has been ordered cut back 20 per cent–25 per cent. All the Manpower Training funds have been transferred to Revenue Sharing, and there appears to be only a slight chance that rural training programs such as "Mainstream" will receive any of this money. The

area of health services will also be affected. In fiscal 1973 \$130 million in federal money was allocated for the training of rural physicians; in 1974 this program will cease to exist.

Congress, therefore, must attempt to plug every hole with a limited number of fingers. Congress itself is confused. Its confusion is a reflection of our disordered national priorities, our lack of commitment to solving the problems of poverty, and the complete lack of leadership from the White House.

Today, the momentum of the Kennedy and Johnson years has slowed to a crawl. It no longer suffices to hear apologists blame the Vietnam war. That war, for all practical purposes, is now over for America. What we face today is an important crossroads in our future national policy. The times demand new ideas,

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U.S. POVERTY IN WORLD PERSPECTIVE

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Unemployment rates are typically many times as high in the United States as, for example, in West Germany; only Canada has rates higher than the United States. Figures for average levels of unemployment conceal its differential impact on members of lower income groups. Rates for black workers are almost twice as high as for whites; blue-collar workers have rates twice as high as do white-collar workers; teen-age unemployment rates in recent years have been extremely high, reaching almost 17 per cent in 1971.

Several factors may help to account for the relatively high levels of unemployment in the United States. In the first place, the United States has had less price inflation in recent years than most other countries, and international comparisons have shown that countries which are willing to tolerate higher rates of inflation can often maintain lower levels of unemployment.⁸ Patterns of international exchange rates have also tended to discourage American exports and, thus employment in United States industries. Furthermore, there are some indications that the relatively high-wage countries tend to have higher levels of unemployment than do the countries with lower wages.⁹

Some economists believe that high statutory minimum wages in the United States make it especially difficult to absorb teen-age unemployment.¹⁰ Most European countries have no minimum wage laws and are doing considerably better than the United States at providing jobs for their young people.

There are intriguing international differences in the

⁸ Jacqueline R. Kasun, "A Comparison of Unemployment, Inflation, the Money Supply, and Wages in Eight Countries, forthcoming, *ACES BULLETIN*.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ See Angus Black, *A Radical's Guide to Economic Reality* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1970), p. 19.

matter of work incentives. The United States public assistance system is designed to penalize low-income families for working, in many instances. Public medical aid is forfeited when family income rises above certain levels. The family of a fully employed, low-wage father is not entitled to assistance and may be able to achieve a higher income by getting rid of the father and going on welfare. These features of the United States public assistance system were intended to withhold aid from those who did not need it and are not features of the European systems. In European countries, public health care and family allowances are available *chiefly* to workers' families, and in some countries to everyone. Thus, ironically, in the countries where less care has been taken to withhold aid from those who do not need it, the incentive and rewards for working are probably stronger than in the United States.

As we survey the international data on income distribution, it is disappointing that so little of what we want to know is revealed. Hidden by the side of the superhighways where prosperous, middle class America rushes along to its pleasures there is another kind of world, where life is lived on another scale, in muddy shack-towns and rotting tenements. Whether this kind of hidden world exists with equal squalor in other rich countries is not revealed by international statistics; there are no charts and graphs that adequately represent hungry children. The available statistics show no greater inequality, and perhaps less, in the United States than in most other countries. They also show that, as the world's richest country, which has brought levels of luxury to the broad mass of its people, the United States is far more able than most countries to abolish the poverty remaining within its borders.

BEING SPECIAL AND BEING POOR

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have been a poor child. Children of the poor are handicapped in a number of ways by their inherited lack of opportunity—handicaps which affect them even before they are born. Parents of poor children pay about 15 per cent of their incomes for medical care; in contrast, middle class families pay less than 7.5 per cent of their incomes for medical care. Despite this investment, poor people receive poor medical care. During pregnancy, many mothers in poverty-stricken families either do not receive adequate medical care, or have diets missing in important nutrients. Children born to such mothers are far more likely to be physically and mentally handicapped; and dangers to such mothers in childbirth are magnified.

² The infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births for a total population) stands at 21. Maternal mortality for our population is 65 (per 100,000 live births).

Not surprisingly, mothers who are poor and the children they bear have a mortality rate twice that of our national average.²

In addition to the problems associated with childbirth, children of the poor are subject to poor diets and deficient (if any) medical and dental care. In a 1968 study of children in Mississippi, made for the Field Foundation, a group of physicians gave the following description of children they observed in that state:

In almost every child we saw in the six counties . . . we observed one or another parasitic disease: trichinosis, enterobiasis, ascariasis; and hookworm disease. Most children we saw had some kind of skin disease: dryness and shrinkage of skin due to malnutrition; ulcerations; severe sores; rashes; boils, abscesses, and furuncles; impetigo, rat bites. . . . These children would need blood transfusions before any corrective surgery could be done—and we found in child after child the need for surgery: hernias; poorly healed fractures; rheumatic and congenital heart disease with attendant murmurs, difficult breathing, and chest pain; evidence of gastro-intestinal bleeding, or partial obstruction; severe, suppurating ear infections; congenital or developmental eye diseases in bad need of correction. The teeth of practically every child we saw were in awful repair—eaten up by cavities and poorly developed. Their gums showed how severely anemic these children are; and the gums were also infected and foul smelling.

These are children whose parents were subjected to the same health conditions when they were young. As adults, they are expected to work their way out of poverty and provide through their labor for their children's needs. In fact, most of the parents do work full time, but the low level of their earnings makes it impossible for them to provide for their children as most non-poor parents can. With a minimum wage of \$1.60 an hour, a worker working 40 hours a week, 52 weeks a year, can earn only \$3,328.00. This is a figure well below the poverty line for families.

In addition to wage and health disabilities, children in poverty families face many additional handicaps. Among these are the different treatment they receive in the educational system. Children of poor parents are far more apt to attend run-down and occasionally dangerous schools. Substitute teachers are frequently used and regular teachers flee from poverty areas to suburban systems when they can, because the conditions of work are better and there is more prestige in the suburbs.

Poor children are also deprived of many advantages which most children take for granted, like money for school lunches, trips, and a seemingly endless procession of new clothes and new toys. Poor children in the United States are poor in comparison to the children around them—not in comparison to children in India or Brazil. Thus, in this country, where most people are not poor, children grow up in poor families with a feeling that their parents are failures

or that they are themselves responsible for their poverty.

This psychological guilt is further fueled by the fact that poor children are likely to have access to a television set, even though it may be second-hand and black-and-white. Obviously, a child watching a television set in a run-down ghetto or in a rural slum can easily compare what he sees around him with what he sees on the television screen. Deprivation leads to the feeling that something is wrong either with him or with his parents. In either case, the message is equally damaging.

The root of the problem of poor children lies not in the children nor, necessarily, in the parents. Rather, it lies in a society that permits grossly inadequate health care and in the low income available to the child's parents.

CONCLUSION

The "special" poor are a special problem in the United States. Although we give lip service to the idea of revering the aged and being devoted to children, and believe we show compassion for the ill and handicapped, we do not actually provide money and services for these groups. Barring a fundamental redistribution of income and the provision of national health services as a matter of right, it is unlikely that we will soon solve the problem of the "special" poor.

THE URBAN POOR

(Continued from page 257)

These white women were not born into poverty; neither were the other large group of poor white women—the elderly. They have access, therefore, not only to the markets described briefly above but also to a number of other resources. Their relatives and friends will themselves be of middle and upper income. A school or church or young people's organization will know of scholarships and prizes available to the children. This is not true of poor black women who are heads of their households and who are much more likely to have been born into low income families, and to live in low income neighborhoods.

Despite these obstacles to financial independence, every year thousands of poor families escape the vicious circle of poverty. It is worth remembering that the average family headed by a woman which receives welfare does so for a period of two years or less. The notion of a "hard core" of poor people may prove true for some fraction of those currently classified as poor, but it should not dictate the design of policies to ameliorate the conditions of poverty. "The poor," even "the urban poor," cannot be regarded as an undifferentiated mass. The common characteristic of all these families and individuals is low income; otherwise they are as diverse as the rest of humanity.

FORGOTTEN AMERICANS

(Continued from page 267)

requirements. Of the 163,337 Indians 14 years or over in 1960, almost 16,000 had no schooling, only 19,000 had high school diplomas, and less than 3,000 had college degrees.¹⁵

Little education and dependency on the Bureau of Indian Affairs breed an oppressive powerlessness reflected in the squalor of Indian life. One study found 76,000 reservation houses below minimum standards. Houses on a typical Cherokee reservation in Oklahoma were constructed of unpainted slabs, partially covered with tarpaper. Cherokee shacks had kitchen sinks but the water had to be hand pumped or bucketed from nearby streams. (In arid Navaho country, water must often be carried five or more miles to the faucetless hogans). Arizona Apaches still live in wickiups built of poles thatched with beargrass, and sleep on pallets thrown on dirt floors. Navaho hogans are similarly dismal windowless affairs made of logs sealed with mud, and usually shared with a swarm of flies.

Unsanitary, lice-infested houses and unvaried diets (such as the Navaho's fried bread, mutton stew and black coffee) contribute to poor health.¹⁶ Despite significant gains in Indian life expectancy between 1950 and 1970, the Indian infant death rate is still twice that of the nation. Indians, furthermore, still suffer disproportionately from influenza, pneumonia, dysentery, tuberculosis (six times more prevalent among Indians than non-Indians), and trachoma, a virus infection of the eye which has virtually disappeared in the general population. Another disease, alcoholism, ravages the reservation.

Understandably, many Indians escape the reservation and relocate in the city, taking advantage of a 21-year-old federal employment assistance program which provides job training, financial assistance to move, and social services in the city to facilitate adjustment. The 1970 census reported that 55 per cent of the Indian population lived in cities. Cities near the reservations like Tulsa, Oklahoma, and Tucson,

¹⁵ McDonald, in *Rural Poverty Hearings*, Tucson, January 26-27, 1967, p. 131; Brophy and Aberle, *The Indian*, pp. 71-72; U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Subject Reports: Nonwhite Population by Race* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960), pp. 26-42.

¹⁶ On Indian housing conditions, see statement of Ronnie Lupe, chairman of the White Mountain Apache, in *Rural Poverty Hearings*, Tucson, January 26-27, 1967, pp. 122-123; and McDonald, *Rural Poverty Hearings*, Tucson, January 26-27, 1967, p. 133; also Cohen and Meuse, "The Indian," pp. 166-169; on health and sanitary conditions on the reservation, see Niles M. Hansen, *Rural Poverty and the Urban Crisis: A Strategy for Regional Development* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970), p. 163; and Steiner, *The New Indians*, p. 197; Brophy and Aberle, *The Indian*, pp. 164-165; and Cohen and Meuse, "The Indian," p. 1829.

Arizona, have Indian populations of 9,000 and 15,000 respectively. However, in 1970, more than 9,000 Indians lived in Chicago and over 12,000 Indians made their home in New York.

URBAN INDIANS

Statistics indicate clearly that the urban Indian participates more fully in the work force. Yet Indians, like black Americans, find the city paved with hardship rather than gold. A University of Minnesota study of Indians in the Twin City area found 55 per cent working in blue collar occupations and only 8 per cent wearing white collars. Another study discovered that half the 225 Indians visiting a Minneapolis hospital lived on welfare; 27 per cent of the 225 had incomes under \$3,000 a year, and only 25 per cent earned more than \$6,000 annually.

Indians appear to disagree about the advantages of urban life. Some Indians are afraid that the federal relocation program is a ploy to undermine Indian culture. Militant Indians insist that if there were more opportunities on the reservations more than 75 per cent of the urban Indians would return to their kin, to their tribal religion, their fishing and hunting rights and, most important, to their identity.

Students of the Indian maintain that underlying Indian poverty lies the Indian's struggle to preserve his identity in an urban-industrial milieu. Still hovering paternalistically over the struggle looms the United States government and its right arm, the Bureau of Indian Affairs.¹⁷ In fact, federal officialdom has been grinding out Indian policy at least since the exterminatory Cherokee removal of the 1830's. Fol-

lowing the Civil War—inspired in part by United States "Negro policy"—Americans began a concerted effort to "Americanize" the Indian; but for the Indians Americanization was too often a "join or die" proposition.

Not all the Americanizers were George Custers. Harriet Beecher Stowe labored diligently to bring civilization to the Indian. Then, in 1887, the government inaugurated a Carthaginian plan of assimilation. The Dawes Severalty Act aimed to dissolve the reservations and compel the Indians to melt into the mainstream of American life. Between 1887 and 1934 assimilation failed as a tactic, but not before white greed had decimated Indian life and land. In fact, during this period two-thirds of Indian lands passed into white ownership. The Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934 repealed the Dawes Act and proposed the reconstitution of Indian culture. Whimsically, 20 years later President Dwight D. Eisenhower reversed New Deal Indian policy and resolved to terminate "as fast as possible the special relationship between the American Indian and the federal government." "Termination" eviscerated Indian civilization till the administrations of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson halted the policy.

After 1962, the late Office of Economic Opportunity, and especially the Community Action Program, rekindled reservation life, not so much by lifting the pall of poverty (it did not), but by giving tribes a chance to participate in tribal planning. According to one Indian spokesman, the OEO buttressed the self-confidence of the young so that they could fight for Indian rights. As one Indian put it, "What happens when you free the snake? When he realizes he's free, he begins to move."¹⁸

Even while the young Indian movement was deciding how to channel this fledgling energy, President Richard Nixon in 1971 hailed the Indian as his favorite minority and invested the Indian tribe with the right of self-determination over reservation affairs. Under President Nixon, the appropriations of the Bureau of Indian Affairs especially for economic development spiraled from \$243 million in 1968 to \$530 million in 1973.

Not surprisingly, the Nixon administration was shocked at the outbreak of Indian militance at Alcatraz, then in Washington, D.C., and, most recently, at Wounded Knee. But according to the American Indian Movement (AIM), the activists look behind the Nixon concessions and focus on continuing betrayal of the Indian by the BIA. These young Indians regard the bureau as a 150-year-old, highly inefficient, white-dominated bureaucracy which "has stultified our ambitions, corrupted our society, and caused creeping paralysis to set in—economically and socially as well." The AIM accuses the bureau of plotting with "Uncle Tomahawk" tribal "spokesmen" to turn

¹⁷ Much has been written about the urban Indian. See Elaine M. Neils, *Reservation to City: Indian Migration and Federal Relocation* (University of Chicago: Department of Geography, 1971), pp. 31, 43, 133-137; see also "Indian Uprising," U.S. News and World Report, LXXIII, No. 21 (November 20, 1972), p. 110; U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Census, *General Population Characteristics: United States Summary*, PC (1), B-1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971); on New York Indians see *The New York Times*, November 5, 1971, p. 45; on the economic status of urban Indians, see Neils, *Reservation to City*, p. 43; Arthur M. Harkins, Mary L. Zemyan, and Richard Woods, *Indian Americans in Omaha and Lincoln* (University of Minnesota Training Center for Community Programs, 1970); John W. Olson, "The Urban Indian as Viewed by an Indian Caseworker," in Jack O. Waddell and O. Michael Watson, eds., *The American Indian in Urban Society* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971), pp. 398-408; Richard G. Woods and Arthur M. Harkins, *Indian Residents in Minneapolis: A Further Examination of Their Characteristics* (University of Minnesota Training Center for Community Programs, 1971); on Indian ambivalence toward the city, see Joan Ablon, "American Indian Relocation: Problems of Dependency and Management," in Roger L. Nicholas and George R. Adams, eds., *The American Indian Past and Present* (Walham: Xerox, 1971); Vine Deloria, *Indian Voices*, p. 333.

¹⁸ For an excellent account of United States-Indian relations, see Carl N. Degler, "Indians and Other Americans," *Commentary*, 54, No. 5 (November, 1972), pp. 67-71; see also Lupe, *Rural Poverty Hearings*, Tucson, January 26-27, 1967, p. 124; and Steiner, *The New Indians*, pp. 207-210; and Neils, *Reservation to City*, p. 8.

over valuable land and mineral rights to white corporations and, more importantly, the AIM maintains that the bureau demonstrates an absence of sympathy for Indian culture.¹⁹

The dilemma, then, is how to preserve Indian culture while relieving the deadening poverty of the reservation. Young Indians protest that the city is not the answer. The solution as they see it is the revitalization of the reservation. "Meaningful" Indian education can be provided. For example, at Navaho High School in Gallup, New Mexico, and especially at the experimental Rough Rock Demonstration School, Indians teach Indians in the tribal language, and courses are provided in the ancient tribal arts and crafts.²⁰

But while education can build a substratum for "Red Power," a viable economic base is necessary. Although certain tribes, like the Cheyenne River Sioux, have been engaged since 1940 in consolidating their fragmented land holdings, the effort to effect a renaissance of the traditional tribal wilderness economy seems doomed to failure. More realistically, experts feel that the reservation must develop some manufacturing "as a necessary concession to economic reality." Sadly, the past history of reservation industrialization is not encouraging. Between 1950 and 1965, the BIA coaxed only 76 firms to relocate on Indian reservations; and by 1968, 20 had ceased operations. Plant managers complained of excessive absenteeism and high turnover rates. By 1971, only three per cent of the Indian labor force was working in the less than 200 reservation-based companies.

There have been some breakthroughs. The Red Lake Chippewa and the Rosebud Sioux are negotiat-

ing independently with outside corporations, and are showing considerable expertise in developing their fishing and lumber resources. On the Navaho reservation, the Fairchild semi-conductor plant employs 880 Navahos, mostly in work that utilizes the women's precision rug-weaving skills for the manufacture of complex circuits. But the ambition of some Indians to find an industrial solution to Indian woes disturbs the traditionalists, old as well as young. Industrialization, with its stress on competition, conflicts with the ancient Indian stress on beauty and social harmony. Industrialization also too often entails the rape of the natural environment; witness the strip mining and power plant development on the Hopi's Black Mesa in Arizona. Thus, the Indian, like the migrant, views technology with a profound ambivalence.²¹

Unfortunately, for both peoples the pace of technology is inexorable, and the manner in which Indian and migrant peoples adjust to technology is crucial if they are to escape the clutch of poverty. It should not be forgotten that the federal government contributed to the plight of both these forgotten peoples. If the bootstraps are to be lifted, if the wellsprings of self-reliance are to be plumbed—and I am alluding deliberately to President Nixon's 1973 Inaugural Address—then Uncle Sam should roll up his sleeves, wade into the mire of migrant and Indian poverty, and join with these "other Americans" in the Herculean task of plumbing and lifting.

THE RURAL POOR

(Continued from page 274)

new approaches, new commitments and new priorities. It is not within the scope of this article to offer more than general suggestions, but I do believe one of the most important priorities must be to find ways of involving local people and local institutions in an effort to solve the problem of poverty locally. Until now, big brother from Washington has looked upon local institutions with disdain and contempt. That must change. We must keep our food stamp programs, and we must improve our system of aid to families with dependent children. All families which need help should get it, but each program in each community must be aimed at making families self-sufficient. We must find ways to use local ideas and local initiative so that ending poverty will become a local goal. It is not enough to set national goals which lack support on Main Street. Local initiative can be effective. We can build pride in community, and we can tear down the walls of hate and distrust which divide us. Instead of wringing our hands and gnashing our teeth in frustration, we can use this time of confusion to set new directions in America. And this time, we will have the opportunity to match words and performance.

¹⁹ See *Wall Street Journal*, September 22, 1972, pp. 1, 5; and *Wall Street Journal*, October 13, 1971, pp. 1, 18; Josephy, "What the Indians Want," p. 66; Rupert Costa in *Indian Voices*, p. 6; *Wall Street Journal*, November 16, 1972, p. 26; and *Wall Street Journal*, December 11, 1972, p. 14. According to McDonald in *Rural Poverty Hearings*, Tucson, January 26-27, 1967, the Indians "were never consulted as to their needs and desires. So-called experts designed programs on the assumption that they knew what was best for the Indian."

²⁰ On culture and education, see Cohen and Meuse, "The Indian," p. 1840; and Richard F. Long, "Navaho Schools: Indians Teaching Indians," *Opportunity*, 1, No. 3 (May, 1971), pp. 3-7; *Wall Street Journal*, October 13, 1971, p. 18; "Special Report: The American Indian—Beyond Survival," *Ford Foundation Letter*, 2, No. 8 (December 1, 1971).

²¹ On industrial development, see Cohen and Meuse, "The Indian," pp. 1854-1857; and Steiner, *The New Indians*, pp. 132-133, 172; on the BIA efforts to industrialize the reservation, see Hansen, *Rural Poverty and the Urban Crisis*, pp. 166-169, 179; also Alan L. Sorking, *A Program for Improvement: American Indians and Federal Aid* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1971), pp. 177-192; Richard F. Long, "The Big Hunt: Indians Seek Industry," *Opportunity*, 2, No. 2 (March, 1972), pp. 29-30; On the problem of industrialization conflicting with Indian culture, see Steiner, *The New Indian*, pp. 154-155; and Cohen and Meuse, "The Indian," pp. 1841-1842; Josephy, "What the Indians Want," p. 67; *Wall Street Journal*, November 5, 1971, p. 18; and Looney and Dale, "The Navahos," p. 769.

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

A CURRENT HISTORY chronology covering the most important events of April, 1973, to provide a day-by-day summary of world affairs.

INTERNATIONAL

Disarmament

Apr. 26—The 25-nation disarmament conference ends a 9-week session in Geneva.

European Economic Community (Common Market)

Apr. 2—The European Economic Community agrees to establish its own "central bank" later this week; the bank will be located temporarily in Luxembourg.

Apr. 5—The Common Market's commissioner for external relations, Sir Christopher Soames, says the Community will keep its preferential trade zone limits in the Mediterranean basin, Africa and the developing states of the British Commonwealth, in accordance with a U.S. demand for such a limitation.

Middle East

(See also *Intl, U.N.*)

Apr. 9—Arab guerrillas in Cyprus bomb the apartment building housing Israeli Ambassador Rahamim Timor (without injuring its residents) and attack an Israeli airliner.

Apr. 10—Premier Saeb Salam resigns in Lebanon following an Israeli raid against Palestinian guerrillas in Beirut; there were some 40 casualties. Included among the dead are his close friend Mohammed Yussef Najjar (Abu Yussef), chairman of the political department of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and 2 other leaders, Kemal Nasser and Kemal Adwan.

Israeli Chief of Staff Lieutenant General David Elazar states that the raid in Beirut was a response to "the intensification of terrorist acts" against "Israeli targets abroad."

Apr. 14—At the American-owned terminal of the Trans-Arabian oil pipeline at Saida, a major fire breaks out. It is reported that sabotage may be a possible cause. The Lebanese Revolutionary Guard issues a statement saying that it was responsible for the fire.

Apr. 27—In Rome, an employe of El Al, the Israeli airline, is shot and killed by an Arab belonging to the Palestinian terrorist group known as Black September.

United Nations

Apr. 9—The United Nations High Commissioner for

Refugees announces that the United States will admit 500 more stateless Asians expelled from Uganda last year in addition to 1,000 already accepted. Of the original 3,600 stateless Asians, 1,900 still have no homes.

Apr. 21—The Security Council, voting 15-11, approves a British-French resolution condemning "all acts of violence" and in particular condemning "repeated military attacks" by Israel against Lebanon.

War in Indochina

(See also *U.S., Foreign Policy*)

Apr. 1—The South Vietnam government reports that the Communist siege of the Tong Le Chan ranger base 50 miles north of Saigon is in its 5th week.

Apr. 3—The Cambodian government military command reports attacks of Communist-led rebel forces in the south around the provincial capital of Takeo and on the main highway immediately south of Pnompenh, the capital of Cambodia.

Apr. 5—A supply convoy under American air cover sails up the Mekong River to try to penetrate a Communist encirclement of Pnompenh.

North Vietnam's representative at the Paris peace talks, Xuan Thuy, in a farewell interview, accuses the United States of "trying to stall" in implementing the cease-fire agreement.

Apr. 6—Military sources report American B-52 bombing of Communist concentrations on the outskirts of Pnompenh.

The South Vietnam government reports 3 Communist attacks near Saigon, Pleiku and Hué.

Apr. 7—Ronald L. Ziegler, White House press secretary, announces that General Alexander M. Haig, Jr., has left for Indochina to assess the military situation there after conferring earlier today with U.S. President Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger, presidential adviser on national security affairs.

Apr. 8—A Vietcong spokesman admits that a helicopter carrying 4 members of the international peace-keeping commission was shot down by a Communist missile, killing all aboard. Another helicopter reported missing has landed safely.

Apr. 9—8 out of an embattled 18-ship convoy penetrate a Communist blockade of Pnompenh, bringing the city's first fuel in 2 weeks. 3 ships have been lost.

Apr. 10—The United States begins an airlift to provide fuel for the blockaded capital.

Apr. 11—A supply convoy of 184 trucks reaches Pnompenh. This is the first convoy to arrive overland in 3 weeks.

Apr. 12—Investigators from the International Commission of Control and Supervision confirm that the 2 truce supervision helicopters attacked by the Vietcong last week had strayed more than 15 miles off their course.

Apr. 14—It is reported that U.S. officials believe that 2 truce helicopters shot down last week by the Vietcong were moved secretly to support the Communists' explanation that the helicopters were fired on after they strayed into a dangerous area.

Apr. 15—It is reported that Western diplomats in Pnompenh have criticized the U.S. bombing of Cambodia because its faulty planning is causing high civilian casualties.

It is reported that on April 13, South Vietnamese troops crossed into Cambodia for the first time in the 2½-month period following the Vietnamese cease-fire. Cambodian refugees are reported to have fled into South Vietnam. The Saigon command denies the border incursion.

Apr. 16—U.S. bombers attack North Vietnamese positions in Laos after North Vietnamese forces strike a Laotian town; the U.S. command declares that the bombing raids were staged at the request of the Vientiane government. A U.S. spokesman describes the North Vietnamese ground attack as "a major violation of the cease-fire."

Apr. 19—U.S. Defense and State Department officials accuse North Vietnam of violating the cease-fire agreement. The U.S. government announces that all minesweeping operations along the North Vietnamese coast have been suspended and that the chief American negotiator on possible reconstruction aid to North Vietnam has been recalled from Paris.

Apr. 20—The U.S. State and Defense Departments disclose that U.S. military reconnaissance flights over North Vietnam have been resumed, despite the Vietnam cease-fire accord.

Apr. 21—U.S. bombers continue raids over Cambodia.

Apr. 23—The U.S. State Department asserts that North Vietnam is training and supplying anti-government rebels in Cambodia.

Apr. 24—The U.S. government makes public its reply to Hanoi's charges of cease-fire violations; the U.S. accuses North Vietnam of violating the 3-month-old Vietnam accord.

Apr. 25—In Washington, D.C., the White House announces that next month Henry A. Kissinger will return to Paris to confer with Le Duc Tho, North Vietnam's chief negotiator, on how to enforce the Vietnam cease-fire pact and avoid violations.

In Paris, Vietcong and South Vietnamese delegates confer on a political settlement; the 90-day

deadline providing for the arrangement of such a settlement expires in 2 days.

Apr. 26—Communist forces fire rockets at the Pochentong civilian and military airport and the western suburbs of Pnompenh.

Apr. 28—The Vietcong and South Vietnam exchange 163 civilian prisoners; arrangements for the release of over 1,200 remaining prisoners have yet to be settled.

Apr. 29—U.S. jet fighters bomb Communist forces 3 miles from Pnompenh, on the opposite side of the Mekong River.

ARGENTINA

Apr. 14—It is reported that last night the People's Revolutionary Army, a Marxist, urban guerrilla group, rejected President-elect Hector J. Cámpora's plea for an end to all violence.

Apr. 30—A state of emergency is declared in the 5 largest cities following the assassination of the former chief of staff of the armed forces by leftist guerrillas.

BANGLADESH

Apr. 8—President Abu Sayeed Choudhury is reelected President for a 5-year term.

CAMBODIA

(See also *Intl, War in Indochina*)

Apr. 4—President Lon Nol's younger brother, Brigadier General Lon Non, resigns his Cabinet post; he is to remain the President's close adviser and commander of the Army's Third Division.

Apr. 17—President Lon Nol announces that his Cabinet has resigned.

Apr. 24—A 4-man council takes over executive leadership. The council is composed of President Lon Nol and 3 of his political opponents, General Sisowath Sirik Matak, In Tam and Chen Heng.

CHILE

Apr. 10—President Salvador Allende Gossens states that Chile will not compensate the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation for nationalized property; he refers to its efforts to block his election in 1970.

CHINA

(See *Mexico*)

CONGO REPUBLIC (Brazzaville)

Apr. 24—The leader of the Congolese guerrilla movement, Lieutenant Ange Diawara, and his chief aide, are killed by government troops.

CYPRUS

(See also *Intl, Middle East*)

Apr. 13—It is announced that at a meeting of the

Holy Synod, or governing body, of the Cypriote Orthodox Church, the 3 senior bishops of the church defrocked Archbishop Makarios because he has served as President of Cyprus for 13 years in defiance of a church law prohibiting the holding of secular office.

FRANCE

- Apr. 2—The new National Assembly elects Edgar Faure as its president.
- Apr. 4—A battle between Strasbourg police and students leaves 75 injured when students protest the law ending student draft deferments.
- Apr. 5—President Georges Pompidou approves and Premier Pierre Messmer announces a new 21-member Cabinet which reflects a shift to the center.

GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF (West)

(See also *Yugoslavia*)

- Apr. 2—Chancellor Willy Brandt affirms West Germany's loyalty to NATO in a 4-point declaration.
- Apr. 13—Chancellor Willy Brandt is reelected chairman of the Social Democratic party at the biennial convention.

ICELAND

- Apr. 4—The Foreign Office says that the government has agreed to discuss the British-Icelandic fishing dispute with Britain.

INDIA

(See also *Sikkim*)

- Apr. 1—Prime Minister Indira Gandhi sends an envoy, P. N. Haksar, to Bangladesh to work out terms for the release of the 90,000 Pakistanis taken prisoner during the December, 1971, war.
- Apr. 17—After private talks in New Delhi, the Indian and Bangladesh governments urge a 3-way "simultaneous" exchange of prisoners by India, Bangladesh and Pakistan.

IRAQ

- Apr. 4—Officials announce that Iraq has pulled back her troops from Kuwait's border; her ambassador will arrive in Kuwait for talks on April 6.

ISRAEL

(See also *Intl, Middle East; U.S.S.R.; U.S., Foreign Policy*)

- Apr. 10—Parliament elects Russian-born biophysicist Ephraim Katchalski as President of Israel. Taking a Hebrew name, Katzir, in accordance with government policy, he will succeed Zalman Shazar next month.

ITALY

- Apr. 16—Italian Premier Giulio Andreotti arrives in the U.S. for talks with U.S. President Nixon.

JAPAN

- Apr. 24—Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ohira reveals that his government has turned down U.S. President Nixon's invitation to Emperor Hirohito to visit the U.S.

LAOS

(See also *Intl, War in Indochina*)

- Apr. 3—The government calls off today's meeting with Communist negotiators for the first time in the course of a 5-month effort to form a coalition.
- Apr. 10—Interior Minister Pheng Phongsavan states that there will be a provisional coalition Cabinet announced in Laos within a month.

LEBANON

(See also *Intl, Middle East*)

- Apr. 11—Lebanese policemen break up a demonstration at the U.S. Embassy and Cultural Center in Beirut where 1,000 students were protesting an Israeli raid in which 3 Palestinian guerrilla leaders were killed.
- Apr. 14—President Suleyman Franjeh accepts the resignation of Premier Saeb Salam.
- Apr. 25—Amin Hafez, named to form a government, announces a new 17-man Cabinet.

MEXICO

- Apr. 22—President Luis Echeverria Alvarez signs a 1-year commercial trade treaty with China giving Mexico most-favored-nation status. The 2 nations will have use of each other's seaport facilities.

MOROCCO

- Apr. 2—The government bans the leading leftist political party, the National Union of Popular Forces, arresting numerous members for alleged subversive activities originating in Libya.
- A Spanish warplane and a Morocco frigate exchange gunfire in an area where the 2 nations dispute fishing rights.

NETHERLANDS

- Apr. 5—Socialist Jaap A. W. Burger gives up efforts to form a new government to end the 128-day Cabinet crisis.

PAKISTAN

- Apr. 10—The National Assembly, representing all political parties, approves a new constitution, the third in Pakistan's 25-year history, after President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto accepts opposition demands.

PHILIPPINES

- Apr. 2—The Supreme Court decides that the new Constitution is operative; it empowers President Ferdinand E. Marcos to rule indefinitely with full executive and legislative powers until new elections are called.

Apr. 4—President Marcos announces public works projects to help pacify Muslim rebels in the southern Mindanao region.

Apr. 17—Following the expiration of its deadline, the government withdraws its offer of amnesty for Muslim rebels in the southern Philippines; a military campaign to wipe out the secessionist movement is planned.

PORTUGAL

Apr. 8—At the end of week-long, heavily censored meetings, the first gathering in 4 years of the government opposition asks for an end to the "colonial war" in Africa and for political freedom in Portugal.

RHODESIA

Apr. 6—The African National Council rejects Prime Minister Ian D. Smith's new attempts to settle the conflict over independence with Britain.

Apr. 24—Rhodesian security forces clash with black nationalist rebels.

SIKKIM

Apr. 8—The Indian government takes over control of Sikkim, a tiny protectorate in the Himalayas, at the request of the ruler, Palden Thondup Namgyal, following violent demonstrations.

Apr. 13—It is reported that the Chogyal, or ruler, of Sikkim has announced that he signed a settlement with India, ending 2 weeks of strife. The settlement provides that the Chogyal will accept the opposition's demands to yield power to a popularly elected government.

SPAIN

(See *Morocco*)

SWAZILAND

Apr. 12—King Sobhuza II, traditional and constitutional ruler for 50 years, takes full control of his landlocked country, repealing the Constitution which has been in effect since independence from Britain in 1968.

SYRIA

Apr. 16—It is reported that yesterday the Syrian army fired on anti-government Muslim demonstrators in Homs.

TURKEY

Apr. 6—Parliament elects Senator Fahri Koruturk as President of Turkey in a compromise between the military and parliamentary parties after a month-long effort to agree on a successor to President Cevdet Sunay.

Apr. 15—Premier-designate Naim Talu names a new Cabinet.

UGANDA

(See also *Intl. U.N.*)

Apr. 4—President Idi Amin commends President Nixon for his efforts to end the Vietnam war and says Uganda is "still very desirous of maintaining good relations with the United States."

Apr. 14—It is reported that President Idi Amin has sent a personal letter to former President Milton Obote, whom he ousted 2 years ago. Amin offers Obote full amnesty and invites him to return home.

U.S.S.R.

Apr. 2—The Kremlin announces the reorganization of its 50,000 industrial plants into a system of large government corporations combining related factories. This most comprehensive effort at reform since 1965 is to be carried out over 3 years.

Apr. 3—Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin arrives in Sweden for 5 days of talks.

Apr. 12—The Soviet government signs the largest commercial agreement in the history of Soviet-American trade, with the Occidental Petroleum Company for a 20-year, multibillion-dollar exchange of American technology and equipment for a chemical fertilizer complex.

Apr. 23—Party Chairman Leonid Brezhnev meets for over 3 hours at the Kremlin with 7 U.S. Senators, members of the Senate Commerce Committee. It is reported that the Senators are impressed with his desire for increased Soviet-American trade; he assures them that the Soviet education tax for Jews wishing to emigrate has been suspended.

In Moscow, Senator Howard Cannon (D., Nev.) secretly meets with Russian Jews who tell him that Soviet restrictive policies against Jews remain even though the high education tax has been lifted.

Apr. 27—Following a 2-day closed session in the Kremlin, the Central Committee of the Communist Party approves changes in the Politburo. Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko and leaders of the Soviet armed forces and secret police are promoted to full Politburo membership.

UNITED KINGDOM

Great Britain

(See also *Iceland*)

Apr. 3—The nation's miners by a vote of almost 2 to 1 reject using strikes to break the government's wage ceilings, lending support to Prime Minister Edward Heath's economic program.

Northern Ireland

Apr. 6—Roman Catholic and Protestant spokesmen hail the British government's commutation of the death penalty to life imprisonment for a militant Protestant.

Apr. 16—Sean MacStiofain, former chief of staff of the militant wing of the I.R.A., is released from prison after serving 4 months and 3 weeks of a 6-month prison term for belonging to the outlawed I.R.A.

Apr. 27—A British soldier is killed in Londonderry by sniper fire.

Apr. 29—In a Catholic area of Belfast, one soldier is killed and another is wounded by I.R.A. terrorists; the dead soldier is the third fatality in 3 days.

UNITED STATES

Civil Rights

Apr. 5—The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission announces the filing of 20 suits in 18 cities; it intends to file some 80 more lawsuits in federal courts before April 30 to strengthen enforcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Economy

Apr. 5—The Labor Department says that the wholesale price index rose 2.2 per cent in March, the largest monthly increase since 1951, reflected both in farm and industrial products.

Apr. 18—The Commerce Department reports that personal income in March crossed the \$1,000-billion mark, on an annual basis, up \$90 billion over March, 1972.

Foreign Policy

(See also *Intl, United Nations, War in Indochina; Uganda, U.S.S.R.*)

Apr. 1—Secretary of Defense Elliot L. Richardson, appearing on the "Meet The Press" program, says the American bombing of Cambodia is necessary for the survival of the anti-Communist government because of "a massive threat by well-armed, well-organized guerrilla forces, which include forces from North Vietnam itself."

Apr. 2—Federal Reserve Board member Andrew F. Brimmer says the dollar outflow was a "serious problem"; it reached a total of \$2.5 billion during the monetary crisis this year.

Apr. 3—President Nixon and visiting South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu issue a joint communiqué indicating a pledge of U.S. economic aid but not of military intervention, after 2 days of talks.

Apr. 5—Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs William J. Casey makes clear that developing countries will not receive trade preferences if their trading agreements with the European Economic Community discriminate against U.S. goods.

Apr. 6—Secretary of State William P. Rogers tells the Organization of American States that "we should concentrate on areas where our interests converge." A spokesman indicates that Rogers

hopes to visit several South American countries sometime next month.

Apr. 7—President Nixon, hailing the O.A.S., proclaims April 8-14 as Pan-American Week.

Apr. 12—General Alexander M. Haig, Jr., reports to President Nixon on his special mission to Southeast Asia; he discounts a "crisis" situation.

President Nixon announces the nomination of William H. Sullivan, Southeast Asian expert in the State Department, as Ambassador to the Philippines and Robert J. McCloskey, chief press spokesman of the State Department, as Ambassador to Cyprus.

Apr. 15—President Nixon announces that he will visit Europe in the fall.

Apr. 17—President Nixon and visiting Italian Premier Giulio Andreotti end 2 days of talks.

Apr. 19—President Nixon tells a group of Jewish leaders that he has received "communications" from Soviet leaders disclosing the suspension of the education tax on Soviet Jews wishing to emigrate.

Apr. 23—Speaking before the annual meeting of the Associated Press in New York City, Henry A. Kissinger, presidential adviser on national security affairs, asserts that the U.S. plans to develop "a new Atlantic charter" to overcome strains in the European alliance.

Government

(See also *U.S., Labor*)

Apr. 2—The jury in the trial of Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony J. Russo, Jr., receives for the first time government analyses concluding that disclosure of some of the Pentagon Papers was not damaging to the national defense.

The administration's impoundment of federal highway construction funds for Missouri, appropriated by Congress, is found illegal by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit.

Apr. 3—The Senate fails to override President Nixon's veto of a bill to aid the mentally and physically handicapped, lacking 4 votes for the necessary two-thirds majority.

G. Gordon Liddy, former counsel to the Committee to Re-elect the President, is sentenced to up to 18 months in prison for refusing to answer questions by a grand jury about the Watergate case.

Apr. 4—The Senate approves, 88 to 6, a spending ceiling of \$268 billion, \$700 million below that requested by the President; by a roll call vote of 70 to 24, the Senate asks that the President seek congressional approval before impounding a federal spending program.

In response to protests from governors, the administration announces a compromise on a plan to withhold \$689 million in welfare aid to the states.

Apr. 5—Indian insurgents and government negotiators sign an agreement to end the 37-day confrontation at Wounded Knee; the agreement provides for procedures to set up a presidential commission to study Oglala Sioux treaty rights but does not include amnesty for some 50 insurgents.

President Nixon vetoes a bill for a rural sewer grant program that would have annulled the President's impoundment of funds for this year and provided funds for next year.

President Nixon accepts F.B.I. acting director L. Patrick Gray 3d's request to withdraw his nomination as F.B.I. director following a fight in the Senate over confirmation. Senate Democrats have questioned Gray's handling of the Watergate break-in.

The Senate votes, 88 to 3, to forbid any reconstruction aid to North Vietnam without prior approval of Congress.

Apr. 10—Lacking 51 votes, the House fails to override President Nixon's veto on the bill for a rural sewer system.

The President submits to Congress his new "Trade Reform Act," asking power to raise and lower tariffs and control imports, in anticipation of international trade negotiations.

The President requests Congress for power to grant trade concessions to the Soviet Union irrespective of its exit tax on Jews wishing to emigrate.

Apr. 11—President Nixon asks Congress to provide standards to improve private pension systems which affect 35 million workers.

Environmental Protection Agency administrator William D. Ruckelshaus grants automobile makers a year's delay to meet 1975 standards for curbing exhaust pollutants but sets interim requirements.

Federal District Judge William B. Jones orders Acting Director Howard Phillips of the Office of Economic Opportunity to halt efforts to disband the O.E.O. program, terming them "illegal."

Apr. 12—President Nixon, in a special message to Congress, asks for federal standards for unemployment compensation and extension of coverage to farm workers.

Apr. 13—The Department of Health, Education and Welfare announces that the Nixon administration will release impact aid funds for school districts located near federal installations and disaster aid funds to districts suffering loss from floods.

Apr. 17—Breaking the 3-week-old cease-fire, government forces and rebel Indians at Wounded Knee exchange fire.

President Nixon announces that White House aides will be allowed to testify before the Senate committee investigating the illegal entry and wiretapping of Democratic headquarters at the Watergate complex in Washington, D.C., in June, 1972.

President Nixon also states that as a result of "in-

tensive new inquiries" he initiated into the Watergate conspiracy, "major developments" in the case have led to "real progress . . . in finding the truth." White House Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler announces that previous statements by the President denying any White House involvement in the Watergate affair are now "inoperative."

Apr. 18—Senator Sam Irvin, Jr. (D., N. C.), declares that the Senate committee investigating the Watergate conspiracy will have the authority to decide whether a White House aide can refuse to answer a committee question. Ervin declares that in setting the ground rules under which White House aides will testify, the Senate committee has not yielded to the White House on the interpretation of executive privilege.

It is reported that Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst has withdrawn from further participation in the Watergate investigation.

President Nixon, in a message to Congress, outlining his policy to minimize energy shortages, warns that Americans may have to cope with "occasional energy shortages and some increase in energy prices." He announces that in May the 14-year-old mandatory quota system for oil imports will be abolished.

Both houses of Congress approve a compromise bill to extend aid to the elderly for 3 years at much lower levels; it is sent to the President.

Apr. 19—As part of his "New Federalism," President Nixon sends Congress the better communities bill, to provide a \$2.3-billion-a-year program for locally controlled urban development.

John W. Dean 3d, White House counsel, who has been accused of complicity in the Watergate conspiracy, issues a statement that no one will succeed in making him a "scapegoat."

Apr. 20—*The New York Times* reports that former Attorney General John N. Mitchell has told friends that he knew of proposals to wiretap Democratic headquarters at Watergate but that he always rejected them.

Former Attorney General John N. Mitchell testifies for 3 hours before a federal grand jury in Washington, D.C. He declares that he "never approved any bugging plans during any period during the campaign."

The Justice Department recalls its chief negotiator at Wounded Knee for consultation. Ousted tribal residents of Wounded Knee declare that they will try to remove the insurgent Indians if the government is unsuccessful in doing so.

Apr. 26—The Justice Department agrees to allow the Oglala Sioux Indian leaders to have a larger role in the handling of the Wounded Knee insurrection.

Apr. 27—L. Patrick Gray 3d resigns as acting director of the F.B.I. following disclosure that he de-

stroyed files belonging to a principal conspirator in the Watergate case, E. Howard Hunt, Jr., former White House consultant who pleaded guilty to spying on the Democrats. The files were given to Gray at a meeting with John D. Ehrlichman, chief presidential adviser on domestic affairs, and John W. Dean, counsel to the President, on June 28, 1972, after the break-in.

President Nixon names William D. Ruckelshaus, administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, to serve as acting director of the F.B.I.

It is reported that late last night Jeb Stuart Magruder resigned as an assistant secretary of commerce; he is under suspicion in the Watergate scandal.

Judge William M. Byrne, Jr., presiding at the Pentagon Papers trial of Daniel Ellsberg, releases a Justice Department memorandum revealing that 2 convicted Watergate conspirators broke into the office of Ellsberg's psychiatrist to obtain data on Ellsberg in late June or early July, 1971.

At Wounded Knee, federal marshals and Indian rebels exchange fire; 1 rebel is killed and another wounded.

Apr. 30—President Nixon issues a statement announcing that 3 top officials in his administration, linked to the Watergate case, have resigned. H. R. Halderman, White House chief of staff, and John D. Ehrlichman submit their resignations in letters defending their innocence. The President announces that he has requested and accepted the resignation of Dean. Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst also resigns; Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary of Defense, is named Attorney General.

In an address to the nation, President Nixon declares that he accepts the responsibility for the Watergate scandal even though he was not aware of political espionage "within the White House or within my campaign organization" and the efforts to cover it up.

Both houses of Congress approve a compromise bill extending for 1 year the President's authority to set wage and price controls. President Nixon signs the Economic Stabilization Act just before its expiration at midnight.

President Nixon asks for changes in the income tax laws and forms to make them easier to fill out. Two new proposals eliminate loopholes allowing wealthy persons to avoid all or most taxes.

Labor and Industry

Apr. 2—The Allied Pilots Association ratifies an agreement with American Airlines, providing a 13 per cent wage increase over 34 months for some 3,300 pilots.

Apr. 26—George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, accuses the Nixon administration of using a "prop-

aganda campaign" to mask its economic failures and its loss of popular support.

Apr. 28—*The New York Times* reports that 2 months ago Justice Department officials rejected an F.B.I. request to continue the wiretapping that had uncovered the Mafia's connections with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, channeled through a Los Angeles consulting firm serving as a front.

Military

Apr. 12—The Pentagon states that there is "no indication at this time" that there are any more missing American prisoners in Indochina.

Apr. 16—The Defense Department tells Congress of plans to close or reduce in size 274 military bases that will eventually save \$400 million annually; 26,172 civilian and 16,640 military jobs will be phased out.

Apr. 18—The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit rules that the conviction of Army Captain Howard Levy, a physician court-martialed 6 years ago because of his antiwar views, is unconstitutional. The Court rules that the military code under which the trial was conducted is too vague. Declaring that the constitutional guarantees of due process were denied him, the Court also orders a new trial for Levy within 90 days.

Supreme Court

Apr. 18—The Supreme Court rules that the state of Florida can make shippers liable for damage caused by offshore oil spills to private property owners and to the state.

VIETNAM, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF (North)

(See *Intl., War in Indochina; U.S., Foreign Policy*)

VIETNAM, REPUBLIC OF (South)

(See also *Intl., War in Vietnam; U.S., Foreign Policy*)

Apr. 5—President Nguyen Van Thieu vows in a speech to the American Press Club that he will never ask the United States to send troops to Vietnam again.

Apr. 14—President Thieu returns after a 2-week world tour; he states that he has been assured of U.S. aid at least through 1973.

YUGOSLAVIA

Apr. 19—President Tito and visiting Chancellor Willy Brandt of West Germany issue a joint communiqué at the end of a 4-day visit. The 28-year-old issue of war reparations for Yugoslavia is dropped. The 2 nations agree to a long-term economic cooperation program.

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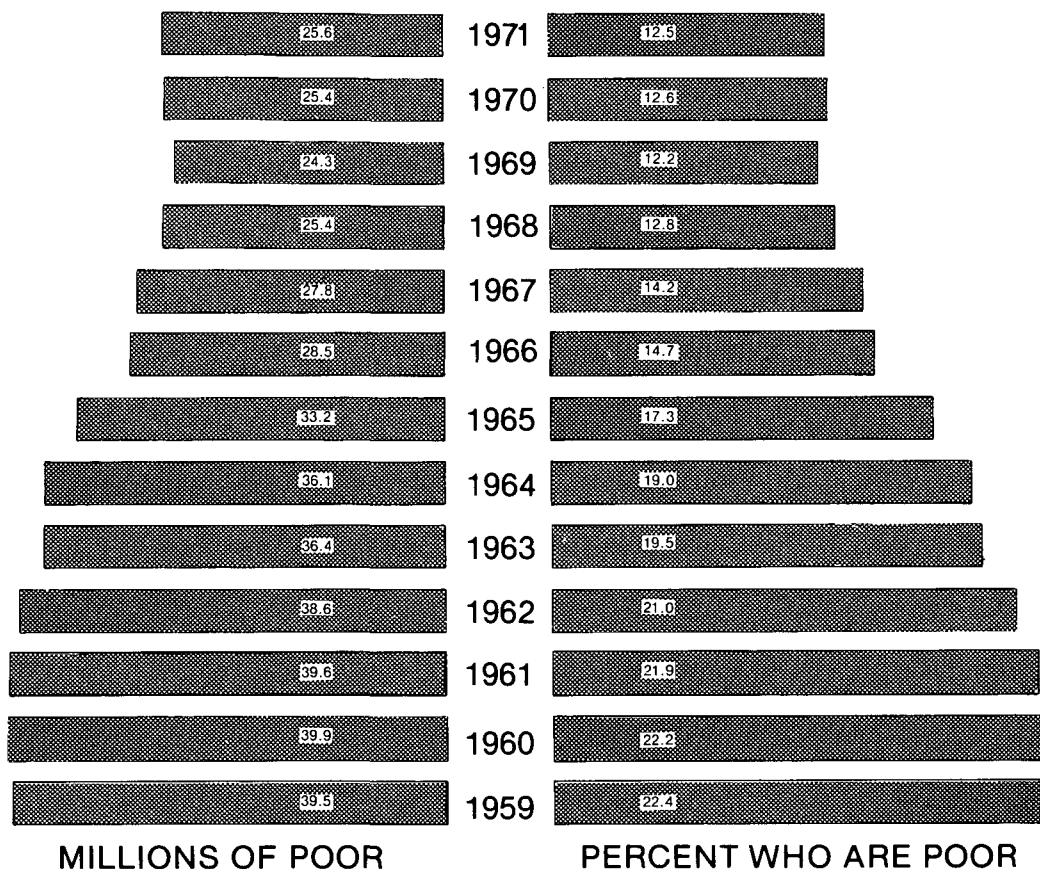
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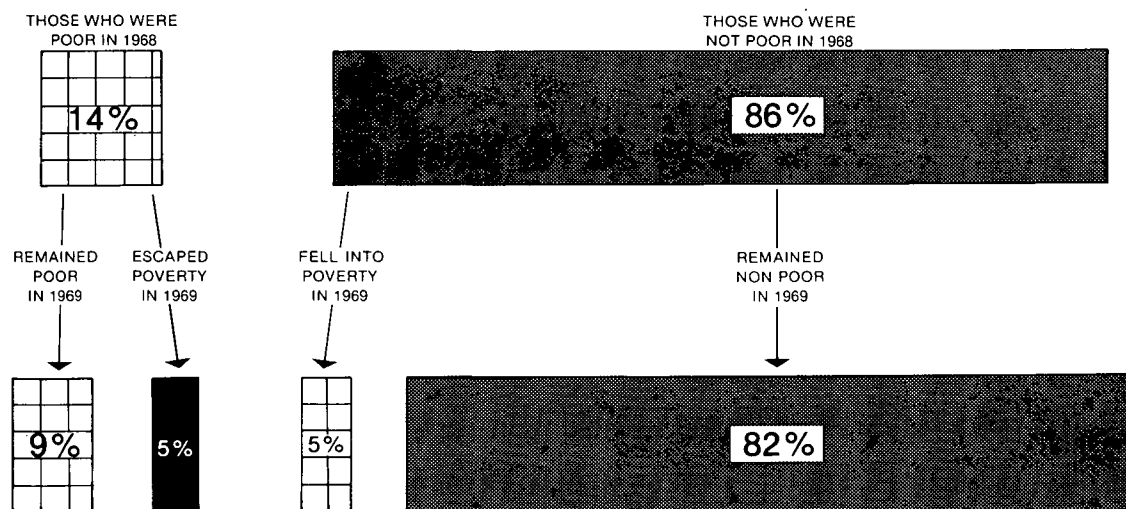
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Poverty in the United States



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

MOVEMENT INTO AND OUT OF POVERTY



Source: Tabulations by Terence Kelly of the Urban Institute from unpublished data, U.S. Bureau of Census.

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